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VOLUME 3



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# LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

## A TURKISH SPY,

*Who Lived Five-and-Forty Years Undiscovered at*

P A R I S;

Giving an Impartial Account to the Divan at Constantinople of the most Remarkable Transactions of Europe, and discovering several intrigues and Secrets of the Christian Courts, (especially of that of France) continued from the Year 1645 to the Year 1682.

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*Written originally in Arabic, Translated into Italian, and from thence into English.*

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VOLUME THIRD.

A NEW EDITION.

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1801.



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## TO THE READER.

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OUR Arabian having met with so kind entertainment in this nation, since he put on the English dress, is resolved to continue his garb, and visit you as often as convenience will permit.

He brings along with him many foreign commodities, to gratify the various expectations of people; his cargo, consisting of jewels and other rarities, which are the genuine product of the East, and some kinds of merchandise, which he has purchased here in the West during his residence at Paris.

It will be pity to affront this honest stranger, by raising scandals on him, as if he were a counterfeit, and I know not what; this will appear inhospitable, and unworthy of the English candour and generosity.

To speak without an allegory, in this third volume of Letters, as in the former two, you will find an exact continuation of modern history, acquainting you with all the memorable sieges, battles, and campaigns, that were in Europe, from the year 1645 to 1649; as also, with all the remarkable negotiations and transactions of state, embassies, leagues, and overtures of princes; the policies and intrigues of public ministers, especially those of Cardinal Mazarini; the great and stupendous revolutions and

civil wars in England, China, Naples, Turkey, and Paris; the prodigious rise of a poor young beardless fisherman to the height of sovereign power; the dismal tragedies of an English king, and Chinese emperor; with the murder of a Turkish sultan; and all these intermixed with proper and useful remarks, pleasant and agreeable stories, couched in a style, which being peculiar to the Arabians, cannot be matched in any other writings that are extant.

If his philosophy will not abide the test of our learned virtuosi, yet it may pass muster in a Mahometan, since it is taken for granted, that the men of that faith rarely apply themselves to such studies, or at least not in the method used in Christian schools; they may have the same ideas of natural things as we, but they express themselves in a different manner.

As for his morals, they are solid and grave, and such as could not be reprehended even in a Christian writer, if we reduce what he says to universals; for, abstracting from the particular obligations he had to his native religion, and to the Grand Signior, whose slave he was, there will be found little difference between his ethics and ours; he every where recommends loyalty, justice, fortitude, temperance, prudence, and all those other virtues which are requisite to fill up the character of a hero or a saint.

And who will not bear with him for patronising the religion and interest in which he was bred? it being natural for all men to adhere to the notions they have sucked in with their mother's milk. In this also he shows great moderation, and a more un-

biased temper than one would expect from a Turk, which may in part be ascribed to his studying in the Christian academics, his conversation with the learnedest men in Paris, and some of the most accomplished persons in the world. Hence it was that he was accused by his superiors at the Ottoman Porte, of inclining to Christianity or atheism; as he takes notice, in his apology to a religious dignitary, in the first letter of the third book of this volume, page 182, to which the reader is referred for farther satisfaction.

In his most familiar letters, such as this last mentioned, and others to his intimate friends, you will find some expressions, discovering a certain fineness and strength of thought, which is not very common in Christian writers; which is an argument that the Mahometans are not all such blockheads as we take them for.

And though his picture, which we have affixed to our translation, since we had the Italian tomes, represents no extraordinary person, yet you know Juvenal's remark, "*Fronti nulla fides.*" And it has been a common observation of one of the greatest philosophers in this age, "That by his outward aspect, no man would guess what an illustrious soul lodged within."

If you would know how the Italian came by this picture (for in his preface he asserts it to be the true effigies of this Arabian), he says, that being acquainted with the secretary of Cardinal Mazarini, and frequenting his house, he saw a picture hang in his closet, with this inscription at the bottom, *Tri-*

TUS DE MOLDAVIA, CLERICUS. *Ætatis suæ LXXII.* He asked the gentleman who this Titus was, who informed him, that he was a great traveller, and understood many languages, especially the Sclavonian, Greek, and Arabic, on which account Cardinal Richlieu, and his successor Mazarini, had made great use of him; and that the latter had caused that picture of the Moldavian to be drawn and hung up in his closet, from whence he had it. Our Italian being satisfied, after some discourse about him, that this stranger was the very Arabian whose writings he had so happily found, got leave of the gentleman to have a draught of the picture taken by a skilful limner, which he afterwards placed in the front of his translation.

There is one of these letters, page 218, wants a beginning in the Italian copy, which the author of that translation takes notice of in his preface, saying, that by some accident or other, the Arabic paper had been torn asunder, and one part was missing.

There needs no more to be said, but to acquaint the reader that we are going forward with the English translation of these letters as fast as we can; so that in all probability you may expect a fourth volume before Christmas, wherein you will find more particular remarks on our English affairs, with political discourses on the original and dissolution of governments; as also many curious passages during the wars of Paris, which have not hitherto come to public view. In fine, you will there be informed of all the remarkable events that happened at that time, either in peace or war, on the whole globe. Adieu.

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# LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

## A SPY AT PARIS.

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### BOOK I.

LETTER I.—MAHMUT, *an Arabian at Paris*, to NATHAN BEN SADDI, *a Jew at Vienna*.

I BELIEVE the news of my imprisonment might fill thee with doubts of thy own liberty, and make thee careful to avoid, at Vienna, such a misfortune as befel me at Paris; yet if thou wert much surpris'd at this accident, it is an argument that thou art but a novice in the world, and art yet to learn the first rudiments of useful wisdom, which teach us “that there is no steadfastness in human affairs.”

There has nothing happened to me in this which I was not before provided for; neither did the suddenness of the event make me change countenance. I smiled at the fulfilling my own presages, and went to prison as unconcerned as I would have gone home to my lodging: not that I would have thee think I was insensible of a loss so afflicting as that of liberty; but my chains did

not appear so very formidable, having made them familiar to my thoughts long before.

When I first came to Paris, I looked on myself but as a prisoner at large, owing the freedom I had to walk about only to the carelessness of the state and the favour of destiny ; so that when that indulgence was retrenched, no new thing happened to me. What I had expected for seven years together, could not seem strange when it came to pass.

By what I have said, thou mayest learn to prepare thyself for the worst events, which commonly steal upon the secure and unthinking, being wrapped up in greater darkness and silence than the moments which bring them to light. These slide away without our advertisement, unseen, unheard : neither can our watches or dials inform us any thing of them till they are passed ; so there is no index to point out to us the hidden decrees of fate till they are accomplished ; no ephemeris of destiny, but our own experience.

Thou, and all thy nation, are suspected by the Christians ; they esteem you enemies of their interest as well as of their law. They despise and vilify you, calling you “ the accursed of God ;” yet they admit you as members of their commonwealth ; they receive you to the protection of their laws, and entrust you with their secrets, that they may serve themselves of your money. Thus are you become bankers for your sworn enemies ; and while you profess an eternal obedience to the injunctions of Moses, you make underhand leagues with the disciples of Jesus. I do not accuse your commerce with these infidels ; but I say you have reason to be upon your guard when you are environed with so many millions of enemies. They are not ignorant of the intimacies between the ministers of the Sublime Porte and those of

thy nation : It is common in the mouths of the French, that the Jews are the Turks intelligencers. Thou oughtest therefore to have a special regard to thy conduct, that no imprudent action may expose thee to the jealousy of the state where thou residest. That court is full of eyes ; and thou hast need of a stricter veil than what thou weardest in the synagogue. The very walls of thy house will betray thee, and thy domestics may prove thy greatest enemies ; yet suspect none more than thyself. This will not seem harsh counsel, if thou reflectest twice on it, there being nothing more certain, than that it is not so easy to defend one's self from him in whom we confide, as from one we are jealous of ; and every man is apt to put too much trust in himself. I believe thou art faithful, and abhorrest treachery ; yet, at the same time, thou mayest be remiss and weak. What could not be extorted from thee by an open enemy, may be discovered by the insinuations of a pretended friend. Thy own good nature may cajole thee ; and therefore it will be no small point of wisdom “ to beware of thyself.” As for contingencies, I advise thee not to be perplexed about them, or be uneasy. Thou canst not avoid the inevitable appointments of Heaven ; only be ready for the worst that may happen, since thou canst never be certain of any thing.

Thy predecessor Carcoa was a man of exquisite forecast, always on his watch, prying into the dark orb of futurities ; yet an accident surprised him once, of which his strictest caution never gave him warning. I read it in one of his letters to the Kaimacham, which thou sentest me from Vienna. The story is this : As he was one day writing dispatches to the Porte, a certain tame bird which he kept for his divertisement, snatches from the table the paper on which he was writing to the tester-

dar, and the window being open, flies with it out into the streets. The paper was dropped in the garden of the Augustin friars at the very moment when the Spanish ambassador was walking there with the general of that order. It is true, the letter was unfinished, no name subscribed, and so Carcoa escaped an imminent hazard of his life; but the secrets therein contained gave a vast suspicion to the Imperial Court, it being soon carried to the principal secretary of state, and by him communicated to the emperor and divan. Strict inquisition was made throughout the city for the author of that letter; a reward of a thousand rixdollars promised to any that would discover him. The bird was seen by many to fly along with a paper in her bill, but from whence she came none knew, nor had any curious eye attended her uncertain motions back; no man divining, that that paper was designed to transmit to the ever-happy Porte, the most important counsels of the German empire. Neither was Carcoa's hand taken notice of, having lived very privately, and used another character in his common dealings; but how near was he to a discovery, when he says himself in his letter, that he wanted but five words to the conclusion, where he would have subscribed his name! From hence thou mayest learn, that a mariner in a tempest, amongst rocks and sands, runs not greater hazards than he who acts in thy station.

However, thou mayest now continue thy advices to Paris, but observe the directions of Eliachim, who brings thee this letter. He will inform thee of whatsoever is necessary for thee to know, taking this journey on purpose to prevent the wakeful jealousy and active inquisition of Cardinal Mazarini, from whom nothing can be hid that is trusted to the posts. Receive him with singular honour; he is an incorruptible friend of the Otto-

man Porte. From him thou shalt learn the safest methods of our future correspondence. He is the Apollo of thy nation ; and his wisdom and fidelity will be recorded in the register of that empire, which shall know no earlier period than the moon, whose crescent is her arms, and the happy omen of her encreasing lustre.

When thou beholdest that noble ensign of Mahomet on the top of the chief temple of Jesus in Vienna, let it augment thy veneration of our law, and convince thee, that all nations must submit to the messenger of God, and seal of the prophets. Be faithful and wise, and thou canst not miss of happiness.

Paris, 28th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1645,  
according to the Christian style.

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## II.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

SINCE my release I have informed myself of some passages to which I was a stranger during my restraint. The Transylvanian agent continues still at this court ; and his negotiation is not now a secret. Monsieur Croissy is gone ambassador-extraordinary to Prince Ragotski, on the same errand from this crown. The subject matter of both their embassies is a league. Cardinal Mazarini suspected tergiversation in that prince, and that he would privately treat with the emperor, if the Grand Signior should withdraw his assistance and protection from him, or if he himself should grow weary of the war. Wherefore Monsieur Croissy, according to the cardinal's instructions, would not sign the league, till Ragotski had called home his ambassadors, who were treating with the Imperialists at Tyrne, and sent away the German envoy from his camp.

The league being concluded, he insisted on the necessity the prince lay under of marching his army nearer to Torstenſon the Swedish general, that ſo they might ſupport one another againſt the German forces.

This was the pretence ; but in reality it was deſigned to engage the Tranſylvanians beyond the power of a retreat, and to poſt them under the eye of the Swedish general, who ſoon after poſſeſſed himſelf of Tyne, the place appointed for treaty between the Imperialiſts and Prince Ragotſki.

It is a town in the Lower Hungary, not far from Preſburgh. The Swedes entered this place the 17th of the 5th moon, but left a gariſon in it of ſeven hundred Hungarian horſe and three hundred foot, according to their articles with the beſieged.

Theſe were ſoon forced to quit the town by Count Forgatſch, an Imperialiſt, the Swedes and Tranſylvanians being marched a great diſtance off ; and it is ſaid this Hungarian gariſon yielded not unwillingly to the Imperial arms.

It is certain, General Torſtenſon puts but ſmall confidence in the Hungarian ſoldiers ; for above ſix hundred of the common ſort deſerted him the 29th of the 5th moon, and the reſt raiſed ſuch frequent tumults and mutinies, that their commanders ſtood in more fear of them than of their enemies. It is reported likewiſe, that there has been lately no good underſtanding between Ragotſki and Torſtenſon, about the deſigned ſiege of Preſburgh ; the former ſeeming too much to favour the Hungarians, and being rather inclined to carry his arms into the emperor's hereditary countries ; yet he would not conſent that Preſburgh ſhould be in the hands of the Swedes.

The French ſay, that the prince is humorous and wa-



vering, yet of a fair intention; but that the greatest part of his officers are corrupted by the emperor; and that therefore both they and the common soldiers were for peace; only his wife, his son, and some few of his counsellors, persuaded him to adhere to the Swedes.

They add, that the young prince, being instructed by his mother one day, in a full assembly of the chief commanders, made the following oration, Ragotski himself being also present.

“ Permit me, most serene and illustrious Prince, my Royal Father, to perform the part of a dutiful son, a faithful counsellor, and a loyal subject. The law of nature and of nations entitles you to my obedience; and the particular honour you have done me, in admitting me to your cabinet, obliges me to exemplify it, in an humble remonstrance of my sentiments, at a time when the interest of Transylvania calls for freedom of advice.

“ It is with no small complacency that I now behold you encompassed with a circle of heroes, whose valour and fidelity may give such a lustre to your victorious arms as shall eclipse the glory of the Roman and Grecian conquerors. The Alexanders, Cæsars, Scipios, and Hannibals, shall no longer draw the world into an admiration of their obsolete achievements. The register of your deeds shall foil their antiquated histories; whilst Plutarch, Tacitus, and Livy, must veil to modern pens, the recorders of your matchless actions.

“ Let not the crafty insinuations of the German court warp your resolutions, and cajole you with the deceitful umbrages of peace, only to gain time, that they may more successfully carry on the war. Neither suffer yourselves, already in part victorious, to be amused with feigned treaties and overtures, which you cannot but suspect. We are now in a condition to give the law, and

should fortune turn the scale, it will still be in our power to make our own terms of composition. The alliance of Sweden and France have raised us to a capacity of braving all Europe, whilst the one with a potent army on the Rhine, the other on the Danube, keep the Imperialists in such perpetual action, that it will be impossible for them to barrier Germany from our conquering arms. Now is the time to raise Transylvania above the title of a tributary province, and restore this kingdom to her ancient renown. If we miss this opportunity, we must forever be slaves to the Turks or Germans. Let us not seek any longer protection, but from the justice of our cause, and the dint of our swords. Let not France and Sweden boast of their Turenne, their Torstenfon, as if no other nation could furnish the world with famous generals! Whilst Prince Ragotski lives, and lives at the head of such an army, your fidelity and courage shall render his name more terrible than that of Tamerlane, and his attempts more prosperous than those of Scanderbeg; and our posterity shall be obliged to raise pyramids to your honour; and, from your present achievements, to date a new epocha, the eternal memoir of Transylvania's redemption."

It is said, that Ragotski was not very well pleased with his son's speech, suspecting that he held some private correspondence with Torstenfon, for whom he had no great affection. Last moon he insisted earnestly on the money and men promised him by Rebenstock; but General Torstenfon thought it sufficient that he himself was so near him with his forces; yet, lest he should take an occasion of discontent, he sent him a supply of money; though he was not without some apprehensions that the prince, having received it, would underhand treat with the emperor.



It is said here, that a Chiaus was arrived in the Transylvanian camp, expressly forbidding Ragotski to enter into the hereditary provinces of the emperor; but that he, trusting to the strength of his army (which consists of five-and-twenty thousand Germans, Transylvanians, Hungarians, and Wallachians), was resolved to pursue his first resolution.

Thou knowest what reasons the Porte had to send him this prohibition. The French say it was out of fear that he would join with the emperor's forces.

By this thou mayest know what opinion the infidels entertain of the measures taken by the sovereign divan. They descant at liberty, whilst I send up vows to Heaven for the exaltation of the Ottoman empire.

Paris, 4th of the 8th Moon, of the Year, 1645.

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### III.—*To the Instructed in all Knowledge, the Venerable* MUFTI.

HAIL, holy interpreter of the sacred law! may the Divine light guide thee beyond the errors of human frailty. I am amongst infidels, enemies to the truth; who yet seem as certain of being in the right as thou art sure they are in the wrong. They hate us with an inveterate hatred. I must dissemble my resentments; whilst, with the lowest prostrations to the Unity, I celebrate his glorious mercy, who has sent us such a star to guide our feet into the way of peace.

The Christians scoff at the faithful people, as divided into several sects. Would my death could wipe out those reproaches, and vindicate the honour of the holy profession. I could retort, that error shows itself infinite in them; but I must hold my peace, and restrain myself.

left my zeal transport me beyond discretion ; remembering I am not sent here to dispute, but to act secretly for my great master, whose empire be extended over all the habitable world.

These poor wretches boast much of their traditions, their sacred synods and fathers, as if we ever wanted holy men, working wonders, and penetrating into the profoundest mysteries, by only wiping their eyes with the dust of their feet.

They talk much of faith and reason ; at which I smile, as knowing it to be only education : yet, as the worst of people have something that is good, so these are not wholly destitute of devotion. They pray often, but not so often as the true believers, it being, as thou knowest, a just exception against a witness amongst us, “ that he prays not six times a-day.” They pray to men and women deceased, whereas thou knowest there is no Deity but one. They fast often, but not so strictly as the assisted with the virtue of the supreme dispenser of graces. They are charitable, but this hinders them not from excluding all from the blest abodes, who are not of their belief ; whereas thou affirmest (who art the resolver of all the problems of faith) that it will go well at the last day with all honest people, seeing these have all the same object of worship, and their different religions are but as so many different ways, which lead a man to the same place of rest, like various roads to the same city.

These Christians whip themselves often with small cords ; which humour, they say, was set on foot by an hermit’s preaching and example. Not many countries distant from that where I am, there happened such an odd instance of this extravagant zeal (which was to be heightened, it seems, with the fumes of wine) as plainly justifies our prophet’s wisdom, in charging the faithful to avoid it. It

was particularly the custom of several people in this place, in their processions, to whip themselves, till the blood streamed down their frocks, which were so made, as to cover their faces, and leave only their backs bare. One of these zealots, distrusting the firmness of his constitution, had taken such large draughts of this intoxicating liquor, that reeling up and down with his whip in his hand, and his head against the walls, he was followed by all the boys of the town hooting after him, which so lessened the repute of this sottish religion, as made them abstain for the future from this pompous usage of it. What low thoughts have these people of the Almighty Lord of all; when, allowing him to be Omnipotent, yet represent him to themselves and others as delighting in cruelty; whereas, thou knowest this passion is only to be found amongst the weak and miserable.

That the Divine Preserver of men may continue thee long for the edification of his elect, are the passionate wishes of the meanest of thy servants, Mahmut.

Paris, 4th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1645.

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#### IV.—*To MUSTAPHA, Barber Aga.*

WOULD to God I could converse with thee face to face in the seraglio, as in former times. I vent many passionate wishes to Constantinople, that happy residence of my best friends, the nursery of my childhood, the school of my youth, and, I hope, the future repository of my old age. When I think of that city, it is with a passion hardly second to that which I cherish for the place of my nativity. In Arabia, it is true, I first saw the light of the sun, but it was in Greece I received the more friendly illuminations of the moon, the splendours of the

true faith; which, though they disclose not to us so clear a prospect of the earth and all its gaieties, yet they present us with an unveiled discovery of the heavens and stars, showing us paradise with its glittering inhabitants, the purpled colonies of true believers, champions and martyrs of the eternal unity. In the desert I left my father, or rather he left me, before I found myself, being but an infant when he died, but in the city I found friends, which is not a less endearing title. He gave me but my birth, whereby I entered on the stage of miseries, with which he soon after left me to struggle, before I could distinguish misery from happiness. But they gave me education, which taught me how to shun those evils which are the natural consequences of our birth; so that in the main, I am more indebted to them than to him. Let it be how it will, I cannot cease to love them, and often wish myself with them. This is a second nature. And because I cannot have my desires fulfilled in that, I gratify myself by often writing to them. Should I make comparisons, thou wilt say, I am a flatterer. Suffice it to tell thee, that thou art one of the number, whose remembrance affects me with sensible complacency. Yet I cannot write to thee, nor any of my friends, so often as I would, without entrenching on the obligations I have to the other ministers of the Sublime Porte. I send dispatches to all by turns, sacrificing my private regards to the expectations of the state, and the pleasure of my superiors.

Had I been at liberty, I could have sent thee the earliest news of the slaughter which the Germans made three moons ago in the French army at Margentheim. It is not too late now to say something of it. The imperialists owe that triumph to the candour of Turenne, and the degenerate craft of the Duke of Bavaria, who,

to lull the French in a fatal security, sent an agent into France to negotiate a peace, with deceitful overtures and umbrages ; commanding also, that none of his soldiers should dare to call the French their enemies. Yet some lay the blame of this overthrow on the Swedes, whose unseasonable suspicion of a private treaty between the French and Germans, hindered Torstenson from joining the former, and exposed Turenne, with his raw and unexperienced forces, to the numerous army of veteran Imperialists.

It was a fatal engagement, and the French lost many brave men, besides an hundred and fifty commanders taken prisoners, fifteen hundred of the common soldiers, fifty ensigns, with many waggons, and four mules laden with money.

It is reported, that whilst Turenne, in the general retreat and flight of his army, betook himself to Margenheim, as he lay on his bed the first night, one of his officers was coming to alarm him with the news of the Germans approach to that town, but unfortunately stumbled at his chamber door, with the noise of which Turenne awaked, and fearing some attempt on his life, leaped off his bed with his drawn sword, and making toward the door, just as the officer opened it, he run him into the heart ; by which mistake he himself, and the troops that were in the town with him, had like to have fallen into the hands of the Bavarians. But receiving notice of their approach accidentally by some other means, he withdrew his troops out of the town by a contrary road, and escaped the pursuit of his enemies.

This victory has given new courage to the imperialists, and has not much dispirited the French, who are by this loss enflamed with greater ardours, meditating a speedy



revenge. The genius of this court seems to be undaunted, breathing nothing but war.

I shall not fail to send thee such intelligence as will demonstrate that Mahmut passes not away his time in vain.

I pray the sovereign of as many empires as there be worlds, to distinguish thee by some particular mark of his favour, from the crowd of those he makes happy.

Paris, 4th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1645.

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V.—To SHASHIM ISTHAM, a *Black Eunuch*.

AT length thou hast condescended to beg my pardon, for the calumnies thy tongue has loaded me with. I am not ill pleased with thy letter; it abounds with elegant expressions of thy sorrow, for an offence to which thou hadst no provocation. Thy submission, though late, abates my resentment; and, if thou performest thy promise, it is banished. The first crime so ingenuously acknowledged, claims a title to forgiveness. Let eternal oblivion seal it. I am not by nature revengeful. I rather blush for shame, than grow pale with anger at him that injures me. Yet self preservation will rouse our choler, which is the most active humour, and precipitates many to violent courses. The effect it has on me, is to put me on my guard, lest he who has wronged me, without any signs of repentance, should continue his malice to my destruction. But thou hast dispersed all my suspicions by thy seasonable address, and if I cannot pronounce thee innocent, I will believe thou art not incorrigible. The best advice I can give thee is, henceforwards to attend to thy own affairs, and refrain from those of others; remembering the Arabian proverb, "He that

peeps in at his neighbour's window, may chance to lose his eyes." There is a great deal of wisdom couched in these short sentences. They are not the product of one man's experience, nor of a few, but they are the result of universal observation ; and our country has been happy above others in the choice of her proverbs. This that I mentioned, is peculiar to the east, yet I can produce an instance whereby it was lately verified in the west.

There is hardly a night passes in this populous city, wherein some murder is not committed in the streets. Two nights ago a man was found dead on the ground ; whereupon a tumult was gathered about his bleeding carcass. Amongst the rest, a fellow came crowding in, inquisitive what should be the matter. Those who stood by beholding his clothes bloody, which he was not sensible of himself, seized on him as the murderer. His wild looks increased their jealousy, and the incoherent words with which he endeavoured to excuse himself, rendered him guilty in the judgment of the rabble. They carried him before a cadi, by whom he was strictly examined ; he stoutly denied the fact, and no proof could be brought against him but his stained clothes. It is the custom here, to put to the torture persons suspected of capital crimes, in order to draw a confession of the truth. This they did to this poor wretch ; and in the extremity of his pains, he acknowledged he had killed his wife that evening, but was altogether innocent of this poor man's death who was murdered in the street. All the torments they inflicted could force no other confession from him, save that which his real guilt prompted him to make, for which he was condemned to death according to the laws. Thou seest by this, that had he gone about his business, without prying into other men's matters, he might have escaped a discovery. But that med-

ding itch of the imprudent betrayed him (not without the particular direction of fate) to a death which indeed he merited, but not on the score of the murdered man, whom he went out of his way to see.

Thou wilt say, this story is not applicable to thy case, since thou hast never yet embued thy hands in any man's blood. I tell thee, what I have said was not designed as a reflection on thy past offence (let it be forgotten) ; but as a caution for the future, not to engage thyself in matters out of thy sphere ; for a busy body is never without troubles.

Above all, I counsel thee to practise the government of the tongue, which is a great virtue, especially in the courts of princes. The Arabians say, " That a wise man's soul reposes at the root of his tongue, but a fool's is ever dancing on the tip."

Thou hast no reason to take in ill part the freedom with which I advise thee for thy good, unless thou thinkest thyself too old to learn. But I have a better opinion of thee than to rank thee among Pythagoras's asses.

I have said enough for a friend ; too much for an enemy. It is in thy own choice to make me which thou pleasest. Adieu.

Paris, 4th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1645.

# VI.—*To ZELIM of Rhodes, Captain of a Galley.*

THOU hast never vouchsafed to acknowledge the advice I sent thee some years ago, of a Christian's design against thy life. Perhaps he wanted an opportunity to put his revenge in execution that way ; and therefore the caution I gave thee looked like a false alarm. Thou trustest in thy courage, the strength of thy vessel, the multi-



tude and fidelity of thy slaves, and thinkest thyself invulnerable. But let me tell thee, that neither thy courage nor thy vessel, can defend thee from the stroke of destiny, and thou hast no greater enemies than those who eat thy bread. Whether it be the continuance of thy cruelty, or the natural regret of servitude has rendered them so, I know not ; but if what I am informed of be true, thou art the miserablest man in the world. Wert thou only in danger to lose thy life by a stab, a bullet, or the swift effects of poison, it would be a happiness in comparison of the method that is now taken to destroy thee ; and the invisible death which thou wert formerly to receive from a prayer-book, would have been soft as the stroke of Cupid's arrow, in respect of the tragical and unheard of fate which is now preparing for thee. Think not I go about to amuse or affright thee with chimera's and tales, such as nurses use to awe their children into compliance and good manners. What I tell thee is matter of fact, and confirmed by many letters from Italy, to several eminent merchants in Paris ; I have seen some of them, and hear that the rest agree in the same relation.

They give an account, that at Naples, on the second of the last moon, three witches were seized and accused of practising diabolical arts ; of enchanting several persons ; of doing great mischief ; and, in fine, of having private commerce with the devil. They stoutly denied all at first, and made very subtle and plausible apologies, inasmuch, as the inquisitors were almost persuaded of their innocence, till it was suggested that their houses should be searched. Officers were sent accordingly, who after a narrow scrutiny, found some magical books, several vials of strange liquors, pots of ointment, with an image of wax resembling a man, but partly melted. There were imprinted on the breast of the image several un-

known characters, figures, and magical symbols ; and on the forehead was to be read ZELIM EBEN SAGRAN. All these were brought and exposed before the inquisitors (of whose office thou art not ignorant), great deliberation was had about this unusual emergency. The Imaams and Cheiks were sent for and consulted. The witches were examined apart, and put to the torture, as is the custom in capital crimes. Admirable was their constancy for a considerable time ; but at length, overcome by the continuance and sharpness of their pains, they confessed they had for some years practised magic arts, conversed with familiar spirits, raised tempests, earthquakes, and done other wicked feats. Being examined about the image of wax, they declared, that it was the image of a Turkish captain of a galley whose name was written on the forehead ; and that they were hired by certain Italians, who had been slaves in the galley of the said captain, to bewitch him to death, in the most lingering method they could invent ; that in order to this, they had made this image ; that every night they met together, with a fourth of their gang (who was not to be found), and made a fire of the bones of dead men, which they stole from the graves and charnel-houses ; that they laid this image down at a convenient distance before this fire, repeating certain magical words and charms ; and as this image gradually melted, so the body of the said Turkish captain did insensibly waste and decay. And, to add to his lingering death an intolerable torment, they basted the melting image with the oils, and other liquors which were contained in the vials and pots ; that by this means he was perpetually racked with most pungent and acute pains in his bowels, head, and all parts of his body, raging under most violent fevers, insatiable thirst, and want of sleep. Finally, that this lingering kind of death

would continue as long as they pleased to protract the dissolution of the waxen image.

This confession, though extorted from the witches in the midst of insufferable torments, yet was delivered without any inconsistencies, and with all the demonstrations of a real penitence. And being seconded with the testimonies of many credible witnesses, who had overseen them in some of their nocturnal ceremonies; the inquisitors, moved with a just horror of so nefarious abominations, sentenced them to be burnt, and their ashes to be scattered into the sea; which was accordingly executed on the sixth of the last moon, in the presence of infinite spectators.

The news of this extraordinary event is fresh in the mouths of almost all the inhabitants of this city; yet no man, I dare say, hears it with that concern for the Turkish captain as I do. Even those among the Christians who abhor witchcraft, would nevertheless rejoice, if not only thou, but all the mussulmans were destroyed with enchantments, since they can never hope it will come to pass by the success of their arms.

I am not credulous of every story that is related of witches, being satisfied, that superstition and ignorance has listed many in that infernal number, who were innocent and never deserved it; some having been forced by racks and tortures to confess themselves guilty of practising enchantments, when, after their execution, there have appeared evident proofs to the contrary. Yet I cannot be sure, but that there have been some in all ages and nations, who have entered into leagues and associations with devils, and have been enabled thereby to perform things above the power of nature. However, I have a particular desire to hear from thee, and to be informed, whether thou hast experienced the effect of their

enchantments. If thou hast not, blest thy stars that thou wert born and bred a' mussulman, against whom the magic of the infidels cannot prevail ; and that thou hast swallowed the impression of Mahomet's seal, which is of force to dissolve and make invalid all the charms of men and devils. But if thou hast felt the force of their enchantments, and pinest away with unaccountable pains and languors, then think with thyself that thou art defective in keeping some point of our holy law ; that Mahomet is angry with thee, withdraws his protection, and exposes thee to the malice of evil spirits. Neither persuade thyself, that because the three witches are put to death, thou shalt presently recover thy former health and ease again ; for, so long as there is a fourth living, and out of the reach of justice, thou art not safe. Nay, if she were taken and executed too, so long as thy enemies are yet alive, who first employed these hags, thou art still at their mercy. They will search every corner of Italy, and of all Europe, but they will find instruments of their revenge. They will rummage hell itself to gratify their fury. The best counsel I can give thee in this case is, to pacify thine enemies by extraordinary acts of civility to the Christians, wherever thou meetest them ; by using thy slaves mildly, and giving them their freedom after a limited time of service, without exacting a ransom, which neither they nor their relations and friends can ever be able to pay. This will abate the rancour of the infidels, and turn their revenge into kindness and love. Thou wilt every where be free from dangers ; and those very persons, who now study all means to take away thy life, will then hazard their own to preserve thee from death.

Think not that I go about to persuade thee to change temper with thy slaves, and from the resolution and bra-

very of a true musſulman, to ſink into the abject timorouſneſs of a Chriſtian. Be fearful only of thyſelf, and ſtand in awe of none more than of thy own conſcience. There is a Cato in every man, a ſevere cenſor of his manners; and he that reverences this judge, will ſeldom do any thing he need to repent of. Let not the authority of thy ſtation tempt thee to be cruel or unjuſt; but in all things “Do as thou wouldeſt be done unto.” This is a precept engraven on every man’s heart; and he whoſe actions write after this copy, will always be at eaſe here, and tranſcendently happy hereafter. Follow this rule, and thou wilt experience the effect. Adieu.

Paris, 1ſt of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1645.

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VII.—*To the Invincible Viſier AZEM.*

IF one may judge of future events, by applying to them the ſymptoms of things paſt; and if a man may compare one kingdom with another, I ſhould think that France will in time extend the limits of her empire as far as any of the four great monarchies, that have been recorded in hiſtories for their univerſal ſway; I will not ſay as far as the wide-ſtretched empire of the ever-victorious Oſmans. Yet the genius of this nation ſeems in ſome manner to inſpire the French with as ardent a thirſt of glory and conqueſt, as that which has in all ages appeared to be the inſeparable virtue of the muſſulmans. They preſs forward to the mark for which they take up arms; that is, to ſubdue all before them, and lay kingdoms, provinces, and cities, at the feet of their ſovereign. They are not diſcouraged at difficulties and loſſes. The checks and oppoſitions they meet with, do but animate them with new and freſh vigours. So that it is become a ſure



prognostic of some great success to that nation, when at any time they receive ill news from their armies. In this, their courage seems to be of the quality of naphtha, which by pouring on of water takes fire, although, thou knowest, these two elements be contrary to each other. So this warlike people, instead of being dejected, or made timorous by any defeat given to their armies, are rather inflamed with more active and valiant resolutions, as will appear by the repulse given them by the Duke of Bavaria, not many moons ago.

As soon as that news arrived in this city, one would have expected to have seen some tokens of fear in the people, but it wrought a contrary effect. No tears of women and children, no compassionate sighs for their slain husbands, fathers, or other relations; no downcast looks, or ominous shaking of heads; no melancholy whispers, or portentous stories, were murmured in the ears of the multitude, but all things appeared lively and prosperous; the very women exciting the young men to list themselves soldiers, and the boys in the streets making all their pastimes consist in imitating the men of arms, and learning the discipline of war. There was no need to force men to the field. No sooner was the king's intention to raise new forces divulged in the provinces, but thousands came voluntarily and took up arms, choosing rather to seek honourable deaths in the toils and hazards of war, than to lead inglorious lives at home, in the soft enjoyments of peace.

These things appeared to me as certain presages of the rising greatness of this monarchy, and an evident sign that the French nation in this age shall outdo their ancestors in warlike deeds.

The stage of that bloody combat between the forces of the Duke of Bavaria and those under the command

of Mareſchal Turenne, was Margentheim. Since which there has been a more fierce encounter between the French and Imperialiſts at Allersheim; wherein the former have recovered the honour they ſeemed to have loſt in the Spring, owing much to the bravery of the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, who, with his regiments, had a conſiderable ſhare in the actions of this day; and therefore he has been preſented with magnificent gifts by the queen-regent. The Bavarians loſt in this battle above two thouſand common ſoldiers, beſides many officers of note. On the French ſide, the Duke of Enguien (who had newly joined his forces to thoſe of Turenne), was wounded in the arm, with two other commanders. Monſieur Grammond was taken priſoner, but honourably treated, and ſent away with preſents by the Duke of Bavaria, together with inſtructions about a neutrality, who is exchanged for a German of equal quality. The French have alſo loſt in this battle above a thouſand of the common ſoldiers; ſo that their victory coſt them dear.

The Duke of Enguien, notwithstanding his wounds, marches on the next day with his army to Norlinghen, offering to that town a neutrality, and liberty for the gariſon to march out, which conſiſted of three hundred Bavarians. But receiving a fierce anſwer from the governor, he cauſed the approaches to be made in order to an aſſault, which was begun that very night, and a breach made in the walls; upon which the inhabitants were forced to intercede with the duke, that there might be a ceſſation of violence till the next morning, promiſing that then the ſoldiers ſhould ſurrender at diſcretion; which was done accordingly.

There he tarried eight days to reſreſh his army. Then he marched to Dunkenspule, which was defended by a



garrison of five hundred Bavarians. He took this place by storm, yet gave quarter to the soldiers, who laid down their arms, and yielded themselves prisoners. Leaving a garrison of three hundred French in the town, he removed his forces toward Heilbrun. But in regard this place was defended by fifteen hundred men, he forbore to assault it, and only quartered his army in the neighbouring villages.

Since that time, which was about the middle of the last moon, there has been no considerable action between the French and the Germans. Yet those who pretend to be versed in military affairs, laugh at the ill conduct of the Archduke Leopold, who, when he had the French shut up in a narrow streight, through which it was impossible for them to pass but by single files, neglected that opportunity to cut them off, deferring the victory (whereof he was too secure) till the next day, by reason of the present weariness of his soldiers. In the mean time, Turenne with his whole army passed the streight in the dead of the night, and came to Philippsburgh.

This oversight of the general is much talked of, because had he pursued his advantage he had not only entirely defeated the French, but in all probability falling with the whole force of the empire on the Swedes, he had likewise vanquished them, and so put an end to the war. But it seems as if the inscrutable Providence had determined to infatuate the minds of the Germans, and reserve those two potent nations, their enemies, to be a farther scourge to the empire.

Adieu, great guardian of the eternal monarchy, and believe Mahmut, when he solemnly swears by Mount Sinai, and by the tenth night of the moon, that he adores thy consummate virtue and wisdom, which never fail thee in extremities.

Paris, 2th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1645.

VIII.—*To CARA HALY, a Physician, at Constantinople.*

I AM weary of writing news of battles and sieges to the grandees, and I know thou seldom troublest thyself with the care of foreign transactions. Besides, I have no certain intelligence of moment to communicate. But I can acquaint thee with something more agreeable to thy studies and genius.

Here is a man in this city who was not born blind, but by some ill hap lost the use of his eyes; yet nature seems to have recompensed that misfortune in the exquisiteness of his feeling. Thou wouldest say he carried eyes in his fingers ends, since he distinguishes those things by his touch, which are the only proper objects of sight.—Believe me, I think there can be no deceit or confederacy, whereby he might blind others instead of being so himself. I saw him muffled up with a napkin, which covered all his face, then divers pieces of eastern silks, of various colours, were laid on the table before him. He felt them attentively, and told us the colour of each piece exactly. I who was never over credulous of extraordinary pretences, suspecting that either the fineness of the linen which veiled his face might give him some glimpse of the different colours, or that some bystander, with appointed signs, might inform him, caused all the company to withdraw, except a learned dervise, who was intimate with me. We threw a thick velvet mantle over his face which reached down to his navel, girding it about his waist, so as to leave his arms at liberty. Then I procured all shreds of silks, such as I could conceal in the palm of my hand; these I caused him to touch with his fingers, brought up as high as his chin, so that it was impossible for him to see them, had he had the use of his eyes; yet he made not the least mistake in five se-

veral colours. We changed the order of the silks, and sometimes gave him the same piece four or five times together; yet, as soon as he had felt it, he readily told us it was the same colour.

I tell thee, O learned Haly, such an uncommon experiment afforded me matter both of delight and wonder. I concluded from hence, that Nature is no niggard in her gifts, but supplies the defects of one sense by the superabundant accuracy of another. We asked this blind person, By what distinction he thus knew one colour from another without the help of his eyes? He was not able to express the particular manner of this discriminating sensation; but only told us in general, that he felt as much difference between the red silk and black, as he had formerly done during the enjoyment of his eye-sight between the silks of Persia and the fine linen of Europe, which, thou knowest, are as different to the touch as fine paper and vellum.

Thou that daily pryest into the faculties of human bodies, art best able to judge whether this man's excellency lay in the tenuity and fineness of his skin, the subtilty of his spirits, or some unusual, powerful, yet delicate energy of his soul, or whether it consisted in all these together.

The dervise who was with me, seemed not much to admire at this rare quality of the blind man; telling me, moreover, that about ten years ago, in his travels, he had seen a blind statuary at Florence, who undertook to make the resemblance of an image in the chief temple of that city, which he finished so much to the life, that his work could no otherwise be distinguished from the original than by the difference of the materials, that being alabaster, his white clay, which he so tempered and mould-

ed with his fingers, as he continually felt of the other, that no lineament was left unexpressed.

Indeed, when I reflected on our mutes in the *seraglio*, and the unaccountable sagacity with which they apprehend those words which they never heard, I ceased to be surprised at what I had seen the blind man perform, or what the dervise had said of the statuary. I remember in Sultan Amurath's time there was a mute, in whom the Grand Signior took infinite delight ; for, besides a thousand pretty gestures and tricks with which she used to divert that prince, he often made her his secretary, employing her in writing letters to his *bassas* and others, whilst he dictated to her by signs. Although she could never receive the sound of words, nor utter any that were articulate, yet I have seen her transcribe a whole chapter in the *Alcoran*, containing a hundred and seventy verses, in as fine a character as the most celebrated scribes of the empire ; and when she had done, would explain what she had thus written by signs, which made it evident that she perfectly understood the *Alcoran*.

These are rare gifts, my friend ; yet were all the mutes educated with as much diligence and care as was *Saque-da* (so she was called), it is possible they would attain to greater perfection. I have been told, that her tutor, one of the learnedest men in Arabia, bestowed twenty years in teaching her this method of reading, understanding, and writing.

This puts me in mind of a man who was bred a *Mahometan*, but being taken captive by the French, embraced their religion, not in his heart, but only in outward profession. When I first came to Paris, I fell into his company by accident, and understanding that he was an African, I desired to ask him some questions, but he was dumb, so that I had almost laid aside my hopes of

conversing with him ; till perceiving that he moved his lips, and opened his mouth, as one that was talking, I offered him pen, ink, and paper, making signs to him, that I would gladly know his mind in writing. He accordingly writ in Moresco, that he was struck deaf and dumb about eighteen years since, telling me also the place of his nativity, and how he came hither ; I took the pen, and in the same language expressed my compassion of his misfortunes. When he saw that I understood Moresco, he writ again, signifying to me, that if I opened my mouth wide at the pronouncing of every syllable, he could understand my meaning by the posture of my lips and tongue. I found his words true, to my no small admiration ; for he would write down what I had said. We conversed together often ; and at length I procured his escape in the retinue of a Chiaus that was returning from hence to Constantinople.

I beseech the wise Architect of nature, and Repairer of human defects, either to continue to us the use of our senses, or to supply that want by some superlative endowments of the mind.

Paris, 20th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1645.

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IX.—*To USEPH, Bassa.*

THOU wilt say I am unmindful of my duty in not congratulating thy new honour before this ; and that I forget the good offices which formerly passed between us in the seraglio. I tell thee, my obligations are infinite, not only to thee, but to many others of my friends at the Porte : It is impossible for me to acquit myself of so many engagements. As for the dignity to which the sultan has raised thee, I received the first news of it



within these fourteen days ; and I dare affirm, that none of thy friends, or of those whose dependence is on thee, could with greater complacency behold thee vested by our most august emperor, than I read the letter which conveyed to me this welcome intelligence.

Long mayest thou live to enjoy the blessings which thy good fortune has heaped on thee. Yet I counsel thee to enjoy them so, as not to forget thou must die. Let not the grandeur of thy station render thee proud and wilful ; but remember, when thou art surrounded with a crowd of adoring suppliants, that death shall level thee with the meanest of thy slaves. Thus the ancient philosophers spared not to perform the office of monitors to their kings and princes ; and I hope, thou wilt not take in ill part the wholesome advice of Mahmut, who discovers a temper void of hypocrisy, in the freedom he assumes. If thou givest ear to flatterers, they will compliment thee to thy ruin ; and when thou art on the brink of a precipice, they will persuade thee there is no danger, though, if thou goest on, they know thy fall is inevitable. They will pride themselves in the dexterity of their malice, and insult over thee with scornful sarcasms, whom not long ago they idolized.

The eminent command thou hast, requires thy frequent presence in the sovereign divan ; and that thou mayest not sit there only as an auditor of other men's counsels, and incapable of making one in the number of those who become remarkable by their orations, or reports of foreign events, I will now entertain thee with some passages which have happened in Europe since the beginning of this year, whereof the other bassas may possibly be ignorant.

The diet of Francfort, which had continued for three years, was dissolved on the 12th of the 4th moon. This

may be known at the Porte, while they remain strangers to the reason of it. There are a sort of Christians in Germany, whom they call Evangelics. These are opposite to the Roman church, both in religion and interest; and their cause is chiefly espoused by the Dukes of Saxony and Brandenburg. It was to comply with these that an assembly was appointed at Osnaburg; but the emperor and the Catholics were either for continuing that at Francfort, or translating it to Munster. While the contending parties were bickering and striving to gain their several ends, the deputy of the Duke of Bavaria, tired out with such intolerable delays, departed from Francfort, whom the rest of the deputies followed. And this thou mayest report for the true occasion of the dissolution of that diet.

Thus, at the beginning of the year, the disputes which these infidels raised about safe-conduct, exactness of titles, priority of address, and many other vain punctilios, hindered them from coming to any conclusion about a peace, which was the principal cause of their assembling. And this is a folly peculiar to the Nazarenes, that in all public assemblies the very strength and vitals of their counsels are spent in a vain adjusting of empty ceremonies.

It is credibly reported here, that the King of Poland earnestly solicites a match with Queen Christina of Sweden, but has not hitherto had any positive answer, or effected any thing in it. In the second moon of this year, that queen sent an ambassador, to give the King of Poland an account, that she had taken the government upon her. While he tarried in the Polish court, there were not wanting such, as by the king's order, sifted his inclination, in reference to this affair. It was proposed to him that this match would be a happy occasion to unite the two kingdoms in a firm and durable league;



that the evangelics in Poland would be much eased thereby ; that Uladislaus was not much decayed in his natural vigour ; that Swedeland might in the mean while be governed by the council, with many other proposals and encouragements to this purpose ; among which I must not omit, that it was suggested, how easy it would be for two such potent crowns, in conjunction, not only to humble the Germans, but also to put a stop to the victorious arms of the Ottoman empire. But all this came to nothing, that wary queen suspecting that there was a deeper design in the courtship of this old fox ; and that by such a match, the kingdom of Swedeland, in default of the issue royal, might be subjected to a foreign crown.

However, it is easy to apprehend from this, that if the Poles maintain at present their accord with the Sublime Porte, it is for want of strength to break it ; and that they only wait an opportunity to make some potent and firm alliance, which may second the designs formed by that court against the first throne on earth, whereof thou art one of the principal pillars.

Remain firm in thy station, and let neither the tempests of war, nor the convulsions of state, which are the too frequent products of peace, shake thy constancy. But above all, suffer not thy integrity, which is the basis of all virtues, to be undermined by bribes.

If thou followest this counsel, God and his Prophet shall establish thee, all men will honour thee, thy sovereign shall exalt thee, and Mahmut will rejoice to see thee in time become the atlas of the eternal empire.

Paris, 5th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1645.

X.—*To ICHINGI CAP' OGLANI, Preceptor to the Royal  
Pages of the Seraglio.*

THERE is a vast difference between thy letter and that of Shashim Isthani. He is eloquent in the acknowledgment of his crime, thou rhetorical in thy own justification. Thou hast plundered Demosthenes and Cicero, and robbed them of all the flowers and tropes of oratory, to dress up a faint, lifeless excuse. Such an artificial apology, instead of cancelling, heightens thy offence. It might have procured thee the applause of the academy; but it comes short of giving me satisfaction for the injuries I have received at thy hands; I have reason to esteem them such, because so designed, although they took no effect; for wrongs of this kind ought to be measured by the intention of the author, not by their success. The ministers of the divan will hardly be prevailed to suspect Mahmut, who has given substantial proofs of his fidelity.

Tell me, in the name of God and Mahomet, what was the motive that induced thee to slander me? Wherein have I merited this persecution at thy hands? It could not be revenge, because I never gave thee occasion, unless thou still retainest a grudge on the score of my studying in the academies; and that at my return from Palermo, thou wert not able to expose me in the presence of the musti, in any point of language or learning. But I had rather charitably believe it was thy ambition, not thy malice, which gave birth to those calumnies thou hast vented against me. Thou enviest me the honour of serving the Grand Signior in this station, thinking thyself capable of discharging this office more successfully than Mahmut. I censure not thy abilities, but I think it is best for every man to be content with his own condition,

since destiny distributes the employments of the world among men, by rules into which we cannot penetrate.

Thou art master of the French tongue ; but dost thou think that a complete qualification for a man in my post ? Art thou fit to converse in the court of a foreign prince, who canst not govern thy tongue in that of thy native sovereign ? Thou art yet to learn a courtier's masterpiece, which is, to dissemble even the necessary art of dissimulation ; that is, as the Arabians say, " To have a veil upon a veil ;" or, as the Italians, " To have a mask with a natural face on the outside." Thou art so far from this, that thou canst not yet draw perfectly the first rough strokes of a counterfeit.

To speak plain, hadst thou by any artificial feigning of friendship to me, made way to insinuate thy story into the belief of the grandees, thou mightest have praised me to my ruin. But to go bluntly to work, without preventive encomiums, discovered at once the weakness of thy judgment, and the strength of thy passion ; giving the ministers occasion to think there was less of truth, than of design in thy accusations.

For the future, I advise thee to mind thy books and scholars, and meddle not with Mahmut, whose business is to study men. Adieu.

Paris, 5th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1645.

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XI.—*To the REIS EFFENDI, Principal Secretary of State.*

WITH extreme joy I have received the certain news of the taking of Canea by the invincible Ottoman arms.

I must confess, when I first apprehended the intentions of Sultan Ibrahim, to make war with the republic of Venice, I was apt to hearken to some thinking men

in this court, who, making their observations of the sultan's indulging himself in female pleasures, conjectured from thence (as by a common rule) that he would not have discovered such a martial and active spirit, in asserting the honour of the Ottoman empire. His dexterous concealing his designs, even to the very execution of them, has struck a damp into all the courts in Europe, insomuch as Cardinal Mazarini this day told the queen regent, that he doubted lest Sultan Ibrahim would prove another Junius Brutus, who being the nephew of Tarquin, one of the primitive kings of Rome for some years, counterfeited an extraordinary simplicity and weakness of spirit; but having privately secured a faction to his own interests, by popular arts, he, to gain the sovereignty, changed the form of government, procured himself to be made consul, and discovered a genius, surpassing in policy and mature judgment all his predecessors.

Though the cardinal's comparison be disproportionate to the grandeur of the sovereign emperor of the world, who cannot without a vast injury be postponed in virtue, wisdom, or power, as a second or imitator of any prince upon earth; yet the character holds good in the main, that he has timely and maturely dissembled the most sublime abilities and endowments a sovereign prince is capable of, rendering thereby his enemies secure and careless; till at length all those illustrious attributes exert themselves on a sudden, breaking forth like the sun from an eclipse, at once dazzling the astonished world, and surprising the enemies of the Ottoman empire, in the flumbers which proceeded from the contempt of his sacred majesty.

I thought indeed once that the Venetians would have been in a condition to have faced the Ottoman navy, and disputed their farther progress on the seas. I expected:

no less than that they would have made some huffing attempts on the isles of the Archipelago; that they would have entered the Hellespont, braved the Dardanells, and sailing forward would have blocked up the Ottoman navy in the Propontis, or driven them into the Euxine sea for shelter. And who could have thought otherwise, had they been provided for a war? But our sage emperor, by secrecy, which is the very soul of all great undertakings, has anticipated their very fears, and leaped upon the prey while the keepers were asleep.

Had the Christian princes and states laid aside their private punctilios and animosities, when the Venetians first made their application to them for assistance, it might have proved a doubtful war. But instead of generously uniting their forces in the common defence of Christendom, they began to divide their interests and hearts one from another, and that upon the vainest motives in the world, one state disputing with another about precedency of posts in the army, which proceeded to that height, as to frustrate the main design; for the pope himself at last is forced to raise the greatest aids the state of Venice are like to have, joining his galleys with theirs, and sending a thousand foot on board at his own cost.

Thus does divine providence, out of the discords of Christian princes, draw occasions to enlarge the sacred empire of the musfulmans, and to spread the Ottoman conquests over the western world.

Paris, 20th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1645.

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## XII.—*To the Magnificent and Redoubtable VISEIR AZEM.*

It appears that the Queen of France is very indulgent to her generals, having called home the Duke of Enguien.



from the toils of war. This prince neglecting the wounds he received in the battle of Allerheim, not many days after fell into a violent fever, so that he was carried in a horse litter to Philipsburg, with no small danger of his life. As soon as he recovered his health, he was commanded to return to France, and the charge of the whole army committed to Marechal Turenne.

Such tenderness is never showed to the invincible Ottoman generals, neither would they esteem it a favour, but a disgrace. When they go to the wars, they make no underhand leagues with the elements to spare their bodies, but are resolved to combat with cold, heat, hunger, thirst, and all the hardships to which soldiers are liable, as well as with the swords of their enemies. They take no other armour against the rigorous frosts of a Russian winter, or the scorching sands of a Persian summer, but an unshaken resolution, an invincible patience, and a mind incapable of bowing under the worst misfortunes. They are not angry with the weapons of their adversaries, when they carve in their limbs the marks of an honour which will far outlast the pain of their wounds, and in their flesh hew deep characters of an immortal fame, and a renown which shall know no period. They are not parsimonious of their blood, but court their enemies to spill it on the ground, from whence it will spring up in laurels and wreaths, to crown them with triumphs and glory whilst they live, and to sweeten their memory with the praise of future generations.

Thus, magnanimous Visier, do the Mussulman heroes, the props of the first empire, manifest their courage, in defying of dangers and wounds, and scorning to capitulate with fortune, for ease and exemption from death. They know, that when they march against the infidels, it is in vindication of the eternal unity ; and therefore, in-



stead of endeavouring to shun, they court a death so glorious, as that which will immediately transport them to the bosom of our holy Prophet, and to the inexpressible delights of the gardens of Eden. Where this truth is firmly rooted, there is no room for fear to plant itself. But the case is otherwise with infidels, who blaspheme that purest undivided essence. They assert and believe a plurality of gods, and therefore, in time of danger, amongst so many deities, they know not whom to address, or whom to confide in. The apprehension of death is terrible to them, whose hope is only in this life; whose consciences are stained with a thousand pollutions, and yet renounce the very method of being clean; who not only err themselves, but by their evil example and influence (for I speak of the princes and great ones), draw innumerable after them, to taste of the tree of Life, which grows in the middle of hell.

People speak variously of the Duke of Enguien's conduct in the battle of Allerheim. His creatures extol his valour and experience with hyperboles, whilst his enemies endeavour to lessen his reputation. Some say, he owes his revocation to the queen's dislike; others attribute it to the extraordinary concern she has for his health. But such as would be esteemed the wiser sort, say his return is voluntary, and sought by himself, scorning to hold his commission any longer at the pleasure of Cardinal Mazarini, who, it is thought, first procured him this employment, only to have him out of the way, and take off his application from the domestic affairs of France. These are the discourses of the people at present, who yet perhaps may change their opinions before the sun goes down. They will always be censuring and descanting on the actions of their superiors; few being willing to think their tongues were given them to lie

idle. It is but a little member, but often does great mischief by its activity. One of the ancients gave no good character of it, when he called it a dæmon. Yet we are not bound to believe all that the philosophers said. Æsop gave the most impartial account of this member, when he said "It was the best, and the worst." Sometimes I sit silent many hours together, not for want of company (for here is a glut of that in this populous city); nor because I know not what to say (for I could speak a great deal more than it is fit for others to hear), but that I may study with less interruption how to serve my great master; for much talking enervates the judgment, and evaporates the mind into air. Besides, by thus practising silence in private, I learn the art of restraining my words in public, when it is requisite to promote the ends at which I aim. It is not for a man in my station to be open and talkative, but to distinguish persons and seasons; to understand the due stops and advances of my tongue; sometimes to say much in a little, at other times to say little or nothing at all; but ever so to speak, as not to lay myself naked to the hearers; yet to seem a very frank, open-hearted man, in what I discourse of.

I would not have thee conclude from what I have said, that Mahmut uses any reserve to the ministers of the divan, who are mines of science and wisdom, and can easily discern the heart through the most artificial veil of words. But it is absolutely necessary for me to use dissimulation in this court, seeming many times ignorant of what I really know, that I may not be thought to know more than they would have me. I was never yet so indiscreet as to publish any secret that was committed to my charge, whereby I have gained great confidence with men who delight to unbosom their intelligence. They esteem me a man of integrity, and fit to be trusted.—

Thus am I made privy to many intrigues of the grantees, and a repository of the court news; whilst they whisper in Mahmut's ear what is transacted in the royal bed-chambers, and private apartments.

By this means I came acquainted with an amour of Cardinal Mazarini, which is known but to a few. This minister has none of the worst faces, and a proportionate elegance in his shape; much addicted also to the love of women; yet he manages his intrigues with that caution and privacy, as not to expose the honour of his function. Among the rest, he had frequent access to the chamber of a certain countess-dowager, her husband being lately deceased. This was not carried so privately but it was whispered about, that a man was seen often to come out of this lady's chamber a little before day; but nobody knew who it was (for the cardinal went disguised). At last it came to the queen's ear, who was resolved to unravel this intrigue. She caused spies to be placed at a convenient distance from the lady's chamber-door, which opened in a gallery of the royal palace, with orders to trace him home. That night the designed watch was first set; it happened that the cardinal being in the countess's chamber, her maid, who was privy to this amour, overheard these spies talking to each other concerning her lady, which made her more attentive (being in a place where she could not be seen), till at length she plainly discovered that they lay in wait to find out who it was that had been seen coming out of the chamber. She quickly acquaints the countess with this news. She consults the cardinal what was best to be done to avoid discovery. In fine, it was agreed between them, that the countess should put on the cardinal's disguise, and he a suit of her clothes; that she should go out at the usual hour of his retreat, and walk in the gardens; that if ex-

amined, she should pretend this disguise was to guard her from the rude attempts of men, who, if they found a lady alone in the night-time, would not fail to offer some incivilities; that soon after her departure, the cardinal should go forth in her dress, and shift for himself. This was performed accordingly. The countess walked into the gardens in the cardinal's disguise, followed by the spies, whilst he goes to an intimate friend's house, an Italian, whose fortune depended on this minister, and changes his female accoutrements for the proper apparel of his sex. —The countess having walked about half an hour in the garden, was seized on by some of the guards, under suspicion of some ill design. She was carried before the queen, and examined; she then discovered herself, begging the queen's pardon; and telling her, that a particular devotion had obliged her to take that course for several mornings; but if it offended her majesty, she would hold herself dispensed with, and would forbear. The queen seeming satisfied with this answer, dismissed her. Thus the amours of the cardinal and the countess remained a secret; and there are but three persons besides themselves that know any thing of it, among which Mahmut is one.

Thou seest, illustrious minister, that the reputation of my secrecy has gained me the confidence of one of the cardinal's privadoes; for I had this relation from the Italian, whom I mentioned at whose house the cardinal changed his disguise. I am not without hopes, by the prudent management of this discovery, to penetrate farther into the court intrigues; for he that told me this story, considered not that he made me thereby master of his fortune; and that it is no longer safe for him to deny me any intelligence I require of him. He has put a key into my hand which will open his breast at my pleasure.

Yet I need not magisterially claim discoveries from him, as the only conditions on which he is to expect my concealing what he has already disclosed. There is a more dexterous and serviceable way to become his confessor, without such an ungrateful insult ; whilst with a well-acted candour, I feign a relation of such things as I suspect, yet cannot be certain are true, till attested by himself, professing at the same time not to believe those pretended reports I heard. If I shall be so happy as to do any effectual service to the Grand Signior by this engagement, it will answer my ends, and I shall not repent of my craft.

Mahmut salutes thee, sovereign Bassa, in the humblest posture of adoration, lying prostrate on the ground, in contemplation of thy grandeur, beseeching God that he would grant this favour to thee, to live happily, and to die in thy bed.

Paris, 20th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1645.

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### XIII.—*To EGRI BOYNOU, a White Eunuch.*

THOU givest me abundant proofs of thy affection and friendship, in frankly telling me what they say of Mahmut in the seraglio. I do not expect to be free from censure ; and am so far from being discouraged at the obloquies some men fasten on me, that it adds to my comfort ; it being an assured mark of innocence to be traduced. I am not desirous that the Arabian proverb should be verified in me, which says, “ That he deserves no man’s good word, of whom all men speak well.” I dread to be popular at such a price ; and will rather court the slanders of the envious, by a steadfast perseverance in my duty, than lay a train for the compliments of



flatterers, by favouring sedition. Thou knowest what reason I have to say this ; there needs no interpreter between us. Though the black eunuch has recanted his aspersions, yet there are others who persist in their malice ; and it will be difficult for the master of the pages, with his best rhetoric, to exempt himself from the number.

I have received both their apologies, and have answered them. I wish they would reform this vice ; not so much for my sake, who am proof against their accusations, as for their own ; for the injury they intended to do me, will redound most to themselves. Misery is on him that persecuteth his neighbour.

He that is merciful and gracious, who hath separated the brightness of the day from the obscurity of the night, defend both thee and me from the malice of whisperers, from the enchantments of wizards, and such as breathe thrice upon the knot of the triple cord.

Paris, 20th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1645.

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#### XIV.—*To MUSTAPHA, Berber Aga.*

THOU wilt laugh at the hypocrisy and folly of the Nazarenes, when thou shalt know the articles agreed upon between the Elector of Saxony, and Koningsmark, one of the Swedish generals, on the 27th of the 8th moon.

The Swedes had prevailed on the son of the elector to intercede with his father for a truce ; but the old duke would not hearken to any thing of that nature, till Torstenson gave orders to the Swedish army in those parts, that they should oppress the elector's subjects, by exacting from them unreasonable taxes and contributions ; and that they should lay desolate all the countries about Dres-



den, if they refused to pay what was demanded of them. Accordingly they took a castle, which commanded a large valley of meadows and corn-fields. The Swedes burnt the corn on the ground, led away the peasants captives, and demolished many towns and villages; yet not without some loss on their side; for the Saxons one night stole upon them while they were securely sleeping, and slew an hundred and twenty, taking above three hundred prisoners. Those who were left in possession of the castle, met with no better fortune; being compelled in a few days to surrender this their new conquest, with five ensigns, and a hundred and fifty prisoners, which were all carried in triumph to Dresden.

One would have thought that these successes should have confirmed the elector in the aversion he had already conceived for a treaty; that he would rather have pursued his good fortune with arms, especially when, by entering into a private separate treaty with the Swedes, he must needs give a great suspicion to the assembly of the deputies; but the old duke doted; and what neither the repeated solicitations of his son, nor the continual ravages which General Koningmark made in his territories, could procure from him, that he granted to the charming addresses of a beautiful lady.

The elector's son adhering much to the Swedish interest, and finding all other means ineffectual to oblige his new friends, it was agreed upon between him and Koningmark, that he should at least persuade his father to a truce of a few days; that during this cessation of arms, the son should invite his father to a banquet, where Koningmark should be present, with some of the principal Swedes in his army. All this succeeded according to their wishes. The good old man consented to a cessation of arms, and to give Koningmark a meeting at his

son's banquet. The German gallantry, and indeed that of all North Europe, consists much in their excessive drinking; he is esteemed the most polite man who can bear most wine, with least alteration of his temper. This they call Carousing. The son had provided plenty of those wines which grow on the banks of the Rhine, esteemed the wholesomest and most delicious of all these parts. It is not necessary to repeat particularly their first salutes and addresses: both parties seemed emulous to exceed in civilities; they fell to their wine with freedom and mirth, after the manner of the country. When in the midst of their glasses, whilst the heart of the old duke was elevated with the juice of the grape, came into the room a tall personage all in armour, and making his obeisance to the company, delivered a letter to General Koningsmark. The general having received it, the stranger was invited by the elector's son to sit down with them. He was master of the feast, and only Koningsmark and the stranger, besides himself, were privy to the intrigue.

The stranger unbuckling his helmet, and pulling it off (for all the rest of the company were uncovered, it being the hottest day in all the summer), discovered a face, and hair, much like one of those nymphs described by poets and painters.

The duke could not withdraw his eyes from this surprising beauty, nor fix his roving thoughts: Sometimes it put him in mind of Ganymede, the discarded minion of Jupiter; but Ganymede was never seen in armour. Then he thought of Adonis, then of the Babylonian Pyramus, the Indian Atys. In fine, he run over all the celebrated youths of the east, to match the beauty of this illustrious stranger. He drank and gazed, whilst his son and Koningsmark were pleased to see the bait.

take. From ruminating on our sex, he passed to that of women; and remembering, that in some former battles between the Swedes and Germans, several ladies had disguised themselves in armour, and followed General Torstenfon to the field, he concluded presently, that this was some beautiful female of Swedeland.

This thought put the old duke into a pleasant fit of raillery, yet not without some mixture of passion for this lovely heroine. There was something so peculiarly graceful in all her carriage and address, as charmed the elector's heart. The women in those parts of Europe are not so precise in their conversation with men as in the east; and it is a great point of education, so to adjust the punctilios of their department, as neither to appear too open, nor too reserved. This was her masterpiece; for she so equally divided the parts she was to act, both of a maid and a soldier, that neither entrenched on the other, but she acquitted herself with exquisite honour and gallantry.

The next day after the banquet, the son renewed his mediation for a treaty, but the elector seemed cold. All his thoughts were busied in ruminating on his fair enemy.

Not to detain thee longer in expectation of the issue, the love of this young Amazon had taken so deep root in his heart, that he would grant nothing but for her sake, neither could he deny any thing which she desired. Thus, by this stratagem, they accomplished their aims, and he condescended to a treaty, after fourteen days debate on the articles, of which I here send thee a true and particular copy, that thou mayest find some divertisement in the folly of the infidels. The articles are as follow:

“ That it should be lawful for the duke to keep due

faith to the emperor, nor should he be obliged to admit any thing contrary to the interest of the empire.

“ That the elector should not lend the emperor above three regiments of horse, nor should permit him to raise soldiers in his principality.

“ That the Swedes should have free and safe passage through Saxony, provided they came not within three miles of Dresden.

“ That there should be free traffic between the elector’s subjects and the Swedes by land and water.

“ That at the end of three months, each party should be obliged to declare, whether they would prolong the truce or break it off.

“ That the elector should again enjoy his revenues, except those which were drawn from Leipfick. That he should pay the Swedes eleven thousand rixdollars a-month, and a certain quantity of corn.

“ That the elector should do nothing which might hinder the siege of Magdeburg.”

These articles at first sight appeared to be equally favourable to the Saxons as to the Swedes ; but in reality, they served only as an umbrage to deeper designs, which the Swedes had in agitation ; for this was the first step to draw the Saxon off from the emperor’s party ; and Torstenson was now secure, that whilst the Swedes rushed farther into Germany, the Saxons would not molest them behind.

For my part, I neither understand the policy nor the integrity of the elector in signing these articles, nor how he can reconcile the first of them with any of the rest ; to give safe-conduct and kind entertainment to the enemies of his sovereign ; to be obliged not to lend him any more assistance than his enemies shall allow, nor suffer

him to raise forces at his own charges ; to be cheated of his own revenues, and tamely yield to pay a monthly tribute besides ; to be tied up from succouring one of the principal towns in his principality, at that time besieged by the Swedes ; this is a new method of keeping due faith to sovereigns, or of observing common prudence for one's self. But “ women and wine cause a wise man to stumble,” as the Arabians say. And this old prince is blessed in a hopeful son, who is not ashamed to turn pimp, that so he may betray his father to his mortal enemies. But let the Christians proceed in their falsehood and treachery one against another, whilst every good Mussulman prostrates himself five times a-day, and prays in his integrity for the consummation of that time, wherein God has determined to put a period to the monarchies of these infidels, and to reduce them to the faith and obedience of his holy law.

I wish some of my friends would send me some relation of what passes in the east ; I have heard nothing of moment out of Asia these many moons. I could almost think myself banished from the eternal providence, whilst I reside among these uncircumcised.

Think sometimes on Mahmut, and if thou canst not relieve his melancholy, at least pity him, whom all the honours and pleasures of these western parts would not be able to exhilarate, so long as he apprehends himself forgotten by his friends at Constantinople.

Paris, 20th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1645.



XV.—*To MAHUMMED HOGIA, Dervise, Eremit, Inhabitant of the Sacred Cave at the Foot of Mount Uriel in Arabia the Happy.*

THY remembrance is as the dew of the evening, or the midnight breezes in Afric, after the scorching fervours of a summer's day, when neither trees, nor houses, nor highest mountains, afford any shadow. Such are the employments of state, keeping the mind in as restless an activity as that which the philosophers say is the occasion of heat. Such also is the refreshment I find in thinking on thee, whose soul is a mansion of tranquillity, an umbrella of temperance, and all virtue. Thither I retreat for respiration from the fatigues of worldly business. Pardon the bold access of an humble slave, who cannot be so happy as to visit thee any otherwise than by letters, yet would be miserable in the want of this privilege.

Ever since I had the honour to kiss the dust of thy feet in that sacred retirement, I was filled with love and admiration of thy sanctity. Thrice happy are the neighbouring shepherds, whose flocks feed under thy auspicious protection. No fierce lions, nor ravenous tigers, dare violate that sanctuary, or hunt for prey within those meadows consecrated by thy presence. That rich and flowery vale was first secured with an eternal immunity from spoil and rapine by the blessing of our holy Prophet; now that blessing seems to be redoubled by thy prayers and abstinences, who inheritest his spirit as well as his abode. It was in that holy cave the messenger of God fasted for the space of three moons. Thy whole life there is one continued abstinence. When thou liftest up thy venerable hands to heaven in prayer, the enemies of our holy law are seized with fear and trembling; thou art the guardian angel of the Ottoman empire; thy body,



attenuated with twenty years fasting, is purified almost to immortality ; thou art become a denizen among the spirits ; neither the beasts of the earth, nor the fowls of the air, nor the fish of the sea, will charge thee with their blood ; thy table never smoked with slaughtered dainties ; every tree affords thee a feast, and the meadows regale thee with a thousand harmless delicacies ; thy thirst is allayed with the crystal streams ; and when thou art disposed to banquet, the Arabian sheep supply thee with nectar ; thus, like a prudent traveller, thou accustomest thyself beforehand to the diet of the country whither thou art going ; thou livest the life of paradise here on earth.

Thou art not privy to the wickedness of the age ; that cell guards thee from other mens vices, while thy incomparable humility defends thee from thy own virtues ; thou art not puffed up with thy sublime perfections ; pride is a serpent which commonly poisons the root of the fairest endowments, but thou hast crushed this serpent in the egg.

In that solitude the angel opened the heart of the Sent of God, and took out from thence the devil's seed-plot. When Mahomet awaked (for this was done while he lay in a trance), he said, I am a worm. When Gabriel saw his humility, he pronounced a blessing on the place, that whosoever should dwell in that cave, should be meek as Abraham, chaste as Joseph, and temperate as Ismael. Thou hast experienced the effect of his benediction.

There is another happiness also attends thy retirement : thou livest free from cares and anxieties ; thou committest the public good to the conduct of thy sovereign, and thy private welfare to the protection of Providence ; neither disquieted for the one, nor solicitous for the other. Who rises, and who falls, in the favour of

the sultan ; who purchases the government of the empire by their merits, or who by their money ; whether it be better to remain in the seraglio, or to be made bassa of Egypt, are cares that never molest thee. Thou canst sit in that sanctuary of peace, and pity those whose ambition, and the love of glory, has driven into the toils of war. Thou canst behold with compassion the burdensome attendants of the great ; their labours by day, and their watchings by night ; their restless thoughts and busy actions ; macerated bodies, and uneasy souls : while with indefatigable pains they pursue mere shadows, and endeavour to grasp the wind, or secure to themselves a bubble, which is no sooner touched than it vanishes ; thou in the mean time art filling thy mind with solid knowledge, and laying up possessions which shall never be taken from thee ; for the soul carries her goods along with her to that other world.

I often wish myself with thee ; and the remembrance of what I once enjoyed in thy conversation, cannot be effaced by distance of time and place ; the farther I am from thee, the more ardently do I long to see thee. But even in these innocent desires, there is a necessary mortification ; since we are not born for ourselves, but to comply with the mysterious ends of fate. I am appointed to serve the Grand Signior in this place, where I endeavour to acquit myself a faithful slave, and a good mussulman. If I fail in the first, my great master will punish me ; if in the last, God and his prophet will revenge it. Yet I hope every frailty will not be esteemed a transgression, since the heart and the hands go not always together. I often strive to imitate thy abstinence, but my appetites are too strong for me : I return to my old course again, like a bow that is forcibly bent. Yet I sin not in this, since it is not required at my hands.

Pray for me, holy man of God, that, while I aim at the best things, I may not fall into the worst; and by striving to arrive at perfection, I may not crack those powers which are requisite to keep me stedfast in the highway of moral virtue. I leave thee to thy contemplations, and the society of thy courteous angels, who ever wait at the door of thy cell.

Paris, 20th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1645.

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XVI.—*To USEPH, Bassa.*

I FORMERLY acquainted thee, that Uladisslaus King of Poland, sought Christina Queen of Sweden in marriage; but that his proposal was rejected. Now thou mayest know, that this monarch has made a more successful amour, being married to Louise Marie de Gonzague, Princess of Mantua. The nuptial solemnities were performed in this city by the ambassador of Poland, who was his master's proxy. The greatest part of the last moon was spent in masks, banquets, and court-revels, to honour the espousals of this new queen, who is since gone towards Poland, being attended to the frontiers by a numerous train of the nobility, with all the ceremonies and regard due to a person of her rank.

The French, who are never sparing in words, are too liberal in the praises they bestow on this princess; for if all were true they say of her, she might be listed in the number of angels; whereas, some more impartial eyes have discovered such imperfections, as speak her yet on this side a saint. But ordinary virtues in princes dazzle the multitude, borrowing a greater lustre from the nobility of their blood, and the eminence of their quality; whilst their vices are either shrouded from the vulgar, or

made to pass for virtues, in the artificial dress which flatterers put on them. It is under this advantage the new Queen of Poland is cried up for a Diana ; though a late satire vindicates her from being half so cruel as that goddess ; it being no secret, that a young Italian marquis had something kinder usage than had Acteon, when he accidentally encountered this princess as she was walking alone one evening in a grove belonging to her palace.

I am no patron of libels ; nor would I speak irreverently of those whose royal birth claims respect from all mortals ; but the stupidity of the Nazarenes provokes my pen, who allow their women all the uncontrollable freedom and opportunities that commonly give birth to the most irregular amours, and yet believe them innocent. They are perfect idolaters of that sex, not having learned, with the illuminated mussulmans, that women are of a creation inferior to that of men, have souls of a lower stamp, and consequently more prone to vice ; and that they shall never have the honour to be admitted into our paradise.

But thou who believest the doctrines clear and intelligible, and hast kissed the garment of the Sent of God, wilt not suffer thy reason to be blinded by the enchantments of these deluding fair ones ; but so love women, as still to remember thou art a man, which is something more sublime.

Paris, 1st of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1645.

#### XVII.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

It is hard to guess where the French victories will terminate. Either fear, or the desire of novelties, opens the

gates of most cities to them; and when that will not do, the force of their cannon makes a passage into the strongest holds of their enemies, and puts whole provinces under their subjection.

Their enemies say, that the French never besiege a town, but their first assaults are made with bullets of gold; and when that will neither prevail on the governor, nor win a party, then they only try the force of the coarser metal. Yet this will appear but a slander, if thou considerest a late action of the Duke of Orleans, when he lay down before Bourbourg.

He had scarce finished his trenches, when the next morning an arrow was found with a letter fastened to it, not far from his tent. The letter was directed to the duke, and subscribed by the governor of the town. The contents of it were, to signify to him, that if he would give him fifty thousand pieces of gold, and continue him in his office, he would the next night open the gates, and let in his army; and that before mid-day he would send a messenger to know his pleasure. The duke waited the arrival of the messenger, who seconded what his master had said. But the magnanimous prince, instead of accepting his offer, sent him back to his master, with this message, "That he came not before the town as a merchant, to purchase it at the price of a needless treason; but as a soldier, at the head of an army flushed with continual victories;" summoning him forthwith to surrender at discretion, that being the only way to experience his generosity.

This year has been signalized with much action in Flanders, Catalonia and Italy. The field was shared among many brave generals.

The Duke of Orleans had the command of the army in Flanders, where he took the forts of Vandrevail, Bour-



burg, Link, Dringhen, Bethune, S. Venant, Guifca, Lens, Mardyke, Lillers, Mening and Armentiers.

These places were won by several parties, under the commands of the Marechals de Gastion, de Rantzau, and the Duke of Guise, who all acted in separate bodies under the Duke of Orleans.

Nor was the Count de Harcourt idle in Catalonia, where he succeeded in the charge of the Marechal de la Mothe. The first effort of his arms was the retaking of Agramont, which the Spaniards had seized; a strong city, and which kept a large part of Catalonia in subjection.

From hence he marched toward Roses, one of the most important places for strength under the Spanish king's dominions, and governed by an experienced soldier, who failed not to defend the place to the last extremes; but after a siege of two moons was compelled to yield for want of provisions.

After this, the French general cut off seven hundred Spaniards, who were posted to hinder his passage over a river. The next day the whole armies meeting in the plains of Liorens, there was a furious encounter, in which the Spaniards lost ten regiments of horse on the spot; the rest threw down their arms and yielded. The Marquis of Mortare, one of the Spanish generals, was taken captive, with other persons of note; among which was the standard-bearer of Spain.

Yet this was but the engagement of one wing; for when the other entered the combat, the slaughter was dreadful. Of the Spaniards were slain six thousand horse, and sixteen hundred foot; and three-and-twenty hundred of them were made prisoners. The French lost not above three hundred in all, and had but a few wounded.



This battle has brought infinite glory to the Count de Harcourt. After which there happened nothing remarkable in Catalonia, save the taking of Balaguier, which is like to end this year's campaign on that side.

Prince Thomas of Savoy commanded in Italy, but had no great number of French in his army, the main body being drawn off to serve in Catalonia. Yet vexed to see the success of the Spaniards, who had possessed themselves of a strong castle, and kept the field in a bravado, as if he were not able to face them, he raised some recruits and entered the Milanese, where he took the city and castle of Vigevano. After this, designing to return into Piedmont, he found all the passages blocked up by the Spaniards, who had a far greater army than his. Yet assuming courage, he attempted to pass the river Moura; and the enemy presenting themselves to oppose his design, he gave them battle, and killed five hundred and threescore of them, among which were nine officers of principal command and quality; on his side were lost two hundred common soldiers and twelve officers, among which was his brother Prince Maurice of Savoy. These are the chief actions on that side. As for Portugal, there has happened nothing in that kingdom worthy of remark.

I have in this letter, sage governor of the imperial city, observed the method thou enjoinedst me; I have acquainted thee with whatsoever has occurred in the present wars of France and Spain during this year.

It is discoursed here, that the Venetians will lay siege to Canea next spring, in hopes to recover that important place from the arms of the victorious Ottomans.

The Duke of Orleans will be on his march to Flanders toward the latter end of the next moon, resolving to make an early campaign, being alarmed with the late loss

of Mardyke which the Spaniards took by surprise, without much bloodshed, having not the fourth part of an hundred men killed on their side; whereas, when the French took it from them, it cost five thousand lives of the best soldiers the King of France had in his army.

The hour of the post will not permit me to say more, than that I am the humblest of thy slaves.

Paris, 14th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1645.

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### XVIII.—To D<sup>U</sup>NET OGLOU.

I WILL not make trial of the virtue of friendship at this time, in the way that philosophers propose to be used between such as own that title. I will not complain of the dolours I undergo, that so by making thy compassion share them with me, I may ease myself of a part. It appears to me a pusillanimous, if not an unjust action, for a man to transfer his sufferings by discovering them to his friend, and designedly throw that upon another, which is scarce tolerable to himself.

I am sick, and custom has rendered this almost as natural to me as health. My constitution is not proof against the envenomed arrows that are shot from the stars; nor am I constellated to resist the secret contagions that lurk in the elements. The herbage of the field languishes when poisoned with invisible atoms from above; and all the leaves of the forest wither when touched with the baneful emissions of certain meteors, or scorched with the winged exhalations of the night. So our bodies receive a thousand impressions from things without us, and not a few maladies from ourselves. The very channel of life proves many times the vehicle of death, while our lungs suck in unwholesome airs, and our very breath be-

comes our bane. We have radical poisons in our complexions, which, though they do us no hurt while we let them lie dormant, yet, once excited by our passions and vices, they become noxious and fatal, hurrying us into the chambers of death, by unaccountable diseases and pains, which are under no predicament.

This makes me bear my present distemper with an equal mind, because I know its original, and it is not in the list of those maladies which have no name; whereby I can easily calculate its duration, and almost point to a day when I shall be well again; for it is in the number of those, physicians call acute; and the anguish it inflicts confirms that title.

Take not this for a complaint, nor what I am about to say for a paradox, when I tell thee, that I know not which is greater, my pleasure or pain, during this excruciating fever. These affections border so near one upon another, that I find it difficult to distinguish them. They seem to be inmates to each other, and blended together in their roots. Sure I am, they are so twisted and interwoven in my constitution, that I never felt one without the other. Every man may experience, that his strongest desires are compounded of these two passions, and the very moment of fruition itself cannot separate them. The minute of enjoyment is but consecrated to his loss, while the height of his joy is the rise of his grief, since the smallest particle of time cannot distinguish the life and death of his pleasure.

Do but reverse this contemplation, and apply it to my sickness, and thou wilt find no riddle in my words, when I assure thee, that as the torment of my fever advances, so does my ease; pleasure and pain sit and shake hands in my heart, embrace, and equally divide its systole and diastole between them.

Yet I must needs own, I am indebted for this allay of my dolours to the presence of my mind, which I suffer not to be torn from itself, or carried away by the violent motion of my agitated spirits. Were it not for this, a fever would prove a hell upon earth, and every pulse a tormenting fury. My very drink (which is all my subsistence now) would appear but the loathsome distillation of that tree, whose unpalatable and scalding gum is appointed for a beverage to the damned. The softest entertainment of my bed, while awake, would but be a translation of the torments of Ixion and Sisyphus; and the flattering intervals of sleep would but renew the sufferings of Tantalus. Whereas now, whether asleep or awake, my mind, keeping aloft in her proper sphere, busied in the contemplation and enjoyment of herself, and superior objects, partakes not in the fever of my body, but, as if on the cool top of some high mountain, surveys all the valleys beneath, without being sensible of their raging heats.

I owe this tranquillity, in the midst of bodily perturbations, to the examples of ancient philosophers, which thou knowest have far more influence than precepts. Ever since I read, that Plotinus could chase away the racking tortures of the gout and stone, by the sole force of his thought, I daily tried the experiment, spurred on by emulation of his virtue, as judging it ignoble in a Mussulman to give the palm to a pagan in any point of masculine bravery.

It is recorded of the same philosopher, that, by the mere strength and majesty of his mind, he dissipated the enchantments of Apollonius Tyanæus; and the infernal spirits confessed they were baffled by that thinking man: As if his soul were of the nature of Medusa's head, which turned all into inactive statues who did but look on it.

Surely great is the efficacy of contemplation hinted at

in the Arabian proverb, which says, "He that can see his own eyes without a glafs, ſhall be able to move the bull's horns." Which myſterious expreſſion is thus interpreted by the learned Avicen: A prophet, or ſpiritual man, who always converſes within, ſhall have power to ſhake the foundations of the earth; which, thou knoweſt, reſts on the horns of a bull, according to the doctrine of our holy lawgiver.

I need ſay no more to convince thee that I am in a fever. My thus expatiating and running from one thing to another (when I thought to have ſaid all in a few words) will ſatisfy thee what temper I am in. Yet recollecting myſelf with comfort, that I know my diſtemper, I will crave leave to tell thee a ſhort ſtory of a man who was ſick for many years, and yet the ableſt phyſicians in Paris could not diſcern his malady.

This perſon was an officer of the city, whoſe buſineſs it was to arreſt men that were in debt. He was obſerved to be the ſubtleſt of all his brethren, and the moſt dexterous at plotting another man's ruin. This augmented his eſtate, and he grew extremely rich. But in the one-and-fortieth year of his age, he was ſeized with an unknown malady, a diſtemper to which the moſt ſkilful were ſtrangers. He languiſhed five years, in a condition which moved all men to pity. It will be tedious to recount the ſymptoms of his illneſs. At length he died, and, according to his own will, was diſſected. The phyſicians found all parts of his body decayed and waſted; but when they came to his head, they were above meaſure aſtoniſhed to ſee a neſt of ſerpents, inſtead of brains. This was concluded by all to be the ſource of his diſtemper; and people deſcant variously on it. Some ſay it was a judgment of God inflicted on him for his cruel ſubtlety, in trepanning men out of their liberties by a thouſand.



wiles : Others are of opinion, that it is a natural product, it being usual in some constitutions for this sort of creature to be bred out of their vitals. A merchant that had been in Peru told me, that in a province of that empire, there were people, who, by drinking the water of a certain river, had serpents often engendered in their bowels ; that he had seen one presented to the King of Spain, which was taken out of a dead man's heart, a cubit in length. He said it was of a crimson colour, without scales or eyes ; neither was it venomous. This he asserted very solemnly, and with imprecations.

I tell thee, dear friend, if these things be true, who can be sure he harbours not some such loathsome inmate in his body ; yet I would not have thee grow melancholy upon it, and disturb thy repose. The day will come when we shall all be metamorphosed into worms and serpents in the grave.

In the meanwhile, live thou happily in the favour of thy sovereign, in the enjoyment of thy health, the vigour of thy senses, and have sometimes in thy thoughts a man full of infirmities, without murmuring, Mahmut, that loves his friend in all conditions.

Paris, 26th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1645.

XIX.—*To the SELICTAR AGA, or Sword-Bearer to his Highness.*

I wish I could time my letters so, as to gratify all the ministers of the blessed Porte, by making each alternately the first relater of some acceptable news in the mysterious divan, where all human events are scanned with impartial judgment. But every moon does not present us with sieges or battles ; neither can I receive intelligence



of all remarkable events, so soon as they come to pass. What I shall now transmit to thee, is an account of what has been omitted in my dispatches to the other ministers.

Europe is a field, fertile in rebellions, tumults, disorders, and unnatural wars. No part of Christendom, which is not polluted with treasons, perfidies, and massacres; no corner undefiled with human blood. The son conspires the death of him who first gave him his life; the brother lays trains to ensnare the partner of his blood, the offspring of her that bare himself. No bond of affection, or tie of consanguinity, is of force to restrain these infidels from pursuing each other with malice. Neither has their religion any more influence on their passions, than the fables of the ancient poets. In public and private, all things are governed by interest. Thus, while every man and every state are only biassed by the narrow principles of self-preservation, they abandon the general good of Christendom, and expose it as a prey to the next daring invader.

There is no reason that we should grieve at this folly of the Nazarenes. It is from their impiety and vices, the virtue and wisdom of the victorious mussulmans receive the greater lustre, who are created to displant these uncircumcised, and instruct the nations which they possessed in the faith free from blemish.

Yet since the depredations which the Swedes have made in Germany and Denmark, the neighbouring crowns and states, notwithstanding their insincerity, have seemingly interposed their endeavours, to prevent the worst effects of a war, so destructive to the common interest of Christendom. Deputies were sent from all parts to Munster and Osnaburg, with instructions from their respective sovereigns. They have squandered away much time in vain overtures of peace; whilst the Swedes daily get

ground on one side of the empire, and the French are not unsuccessful on the other.

The enemies of France, sensible that they cannot reduce this crown by open force, have recourse to artifice. They endeavour to corrupt her allies, and insinuate into the minds of the United States of the Low Countries, all those apprehensions which may serve to improve the jealousy they had already conceived of the French neighbourhood; suggesting that the Spanish Netherlands are the only bar which stops the armies of France from overrunning Holland, and the rest of the United Provinces. In fine, they have prevailed on them to enter into a separate alliance, and not to treat in conjunction with the other ministers at Munster.

On the other side, the French, by their agents in Holland, endeavour to unmask the artifice of the Spaniards; representing that they have no other design in these insinuations, but to breed an ill understanding between this crown and the United Provinces, that so by their ill offices, in time, things may come to a rupture, and the States be deprived of the friendship and protection of France, which alone is able to support that commonwealth against the pretensions of their old enemies, the Spaniards. All Europe is astonished to see, that notwithstanding the utmost condescensions of the French court to conserve peace, yet the States, led by their ill destiny, should embrace the proposals of Spain. This makes a great impression on all the ministers assembled at Munster and Osnaburg, who now conclude, that the Spaniards only seek occasions to perpetuate the war in Europe; that whilst the princes of the empire are engaged in a defence of their territories, and the Swedes and French are busied in pursuing their conquests, they may pick a quarrel with their new friends, whom they have

deprived of a more powerful protection, and re-establish themselves in the revolted provinces.

The deputies have had several conferences about this important affair ; and the result of their counsels is, to solicit the French court to use its utmost power to prevent the ill consequences which this separate treaty will bring along with it.

It is discoursed here, that Monsieur de la Tuilleric will be recalled from the court of Swedeland, being esteemed the fittest man to dissuade the Hollanders from this new alliance ; he having been already employed in several negotiations with the States, and is well versed in the methods of treating with that nation.

This some judge to be the reason of the Sieur Chanut's being sent to Swedeland, that he may reside at Stockholm, and continue to act there in the absence of la Tuillerie. So nice and delicate is this affair, that all France cannot afford another man duly qualified, to manage it with any probability of success. If he show not more candour in this negociation than he did when he was sent to mediate a peace between Swedeland and Denmark, he will receive but slender thanks at his return ; but if he succeeds, it is said, that Cardinal Mazarini has declared, he will merit to be installed in the order of the Holy Spirit. I have formerly spoke of this in one of my letters, as the most eminent order of knighthood in France.

I wish the Christians may ever find difficulties to obstruct the measures they take to establish an universal peace, and may continue to amuse and vex one another, till the day of the scourge.

Paris, 20th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1646.

XX.—*To the REIS EFFENDI, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

IT is not yet publicly known what designs have moved this court to order a mighty fleet to be fitted out to sea; but it is privately whispered, that they will sail to the Levant, to assist the Venetians against the Turks.

People discourse variously, according to the strength or weakness of their reason; and five days ago an old man went to Cardinal Mazarini, pretending to speak by inspiration: He told him, that it was in vain to trust to their winged castles (so he called the ships), the multitude of their armies, or in the treasures of their money; for a decree was signed in Heaven against all the nations in Europe; that the war was begun above, between the potentates who have the custody of kingdoms and empires; that they should soon see the banner of the eternal displayed in the firmament; that the stars should fight in their courses against the wicked professors of Christianity; that the Ismaelites should come out of their holes, and should flow down like a torrent from the mountains of the east, overrunning all Christendom; in fine, that Germany, France, Italy, and Spain, should be laid desolate, their beautiful cities sacked, and the inhabitants led into captivity; that the pope, with all his priests, should be exterminated; and that all nations should embrace one law.

They put him in prison, but he was found walking next day in the streets. The keeper chained him in irons, but in the morning he was standing at the gate of the prison, preaching to the people. Some say he is a chemist, and has found out the master secret; others say, he is a prophet; but most judge him to be a magician. He seems now to have lost his vigour, not being able to re-

leave himself from the chains which fasten him to the ground where he lies; yet he continues to foretel the ruin of Christendom. It is said he will be sent to Rome, there to receive sentence of the holy father, according to his demerits. I am no admirer of visionaries; yet there appears something extraordinary in the constancy of this man. Time will demonstrate, whether he be a true or a false prophet.

A courier came to this city last night from Swedeland, who brings letters from Monsieur Chanut, which say, that he has received great encouragement to hope for the ships which he was to buy in Swedeland. Thou hast already heard, that Monsieur la Tuillerie, ambassador from this crown to Queen Christina, was thought the only proper instrument to dissuade the United States of the Low Countries from entering into a separate treaty with Spain; and that therefore Monsieur Chanut was sent to reside in his absence at Stockholm, to observe what passes, and to continue the alliance between the two crowns.

This minister arrived in Swedeland the 15th day of the moon of December, in the last year, where Monsieur la Tuillerie had prepared all things ready for a speedy dispatch of his negotiation; having the day before his arrival made known to that court the pleasure of the King of France, and the Queen-Regent, whose letters were received by Queen Christina with all the marks of royal affection; she telling the ambassador, that she infinitely honoured the persons of the king and the queen-regent; and that she would give them such proofs of the integrity of her friendship, as would demonstrate that she was sensible of her obligations to them, for what they had contributed to the good success of her affairs; and that there was nothing more dear to her, nor more fixed



in her resolution, than to conserve inviolably the league that was between them. She farther told the ambassadors, that it was with no ordinary complacency she now beheld two ministers of France in her court, after she had been without any for a long time. In fine, she assured them, that whatsoever could be spared from the necessary defence and service of the kingdom, whether ships, arms, or men, should not be wanting to the aid of the King of France.

By this thou mayest perceive, that though the King of France has powerful armies by land, yet he is defective in naval forces; or, if he has ships enough to defend his own realms by sea, and to serve as convoys to his merchants, it must be concluded, that some foreign expedition is designed, which has put him upon this extraordinary method to increase his fleet.

I thought it highly necessary to acquaint thee with this passage, that the ministers of the Porte, august and ever happy, may consult what measures to take with this prince, if it be true that he designs to break the league which he made with Sultan Ibrahim four years ago. There is but little confidence to be reposed in the most solemn oaths of Christian monarchs, who hold not themselves obliged to keep faith with those whom they esteem infidels; and thou knowest that is the best title they can afford the observers of the most perfect law in the world. Yet the French, among all the nations of the Messias, seem to bear the greatest respect to the Ottoman empire. But they are inconstant and changeable, which is an argument of insincerity. They are very prompt and warm in contracting friendships, and as ready to infringe those sacred bonds, on the least occasion, especially where interest and ambition have the ascendant.



The Venetian resident at this court makes daily visits to the queen-regent, and has frequent conferences with Cardinal Mazarini. Many couriers pass between Munster, Stockholm, and this city. Yesterday one arrived from the Venetian ambassador at Munster, giving an account that the secretary of that embassy, whom he had sent to Queen Christina, was returned with the promise of eight ships of war, lent by that queen to the republic, to assist them against the all-conquering musfulmans.

It seems as if Sweden were become the common arsenal of Europe, from which the other kingdoms are supplied with all the instruments of war. But what is most observable is, that the Venetians obtained not this favour, without the mediation of the French minister at Stockholm; by which it seems evident, that this court has newly entered into a private league with the republic; and that they design to surprize the Ottomans with some sudden enterprize by sea.

I shall not let a moment escape which may present me with the least opportunity to discover what is in the hearts of these infidels.

If thou wilt favour me with thy instructions, I shall make the safer steps. God, whose eye penetrates into all obscurities, enlighten us with a ray to that wisdom, which once revealed to his messenger the secret conspiracy of the Coreis, when they plotted to destroy the temple built without hands.

Paris, 17th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1646.

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XXI.—*To WILLIAM VOSPEL, a Recluse at Halmerstadt in Austria.*

I RECEIVED thy letter with abundance of complacency, in that it argues the continuance of thy friendship; and

that I trace therein no footsteps of an angry pen, notwithstanding the liberty I took to descant on thy manner of life. On the contrary, thou sendest me an apology, full of meekness. Thy reasons have a marvellous force in them ; they seem to spring from a soul vegete and living, yet dead to passion. Thou almost persuadest me to affect a monastic life, which may not unfitly be termed a sociable solitude.

I much admire what thou sayest concerning silence, and wish I could practise that passive virtue. It is the first step to wisdom, the nurse of peace, and the guardian of virtue. Words do but ruffle and discompose the mind, betraying the soul to a thousand vanities. Therefore Pythagoras enjoined his disciples five years silence before he admitted them to his mysterious philosophy.

But tell me why thou didst not rather choose to live in a desert remote from men, where thou wouldst have no temptation to speak, unless thou wert disposed to hold a conference with the trees or beasts, or hadst a mind to sport thyself, and have thy words retorted by mocking echoes ? If a recluse life be thy choice for the sake of contemplation, I would advise thee to turn hermit. But perhaps thou darest not venture thyself among the satyrs of the wilderness, or thou art afraid of the wild beasts. As for the first, they are either the dreams of poets, or if there be any such beings in reality, they will not hurt thee, since thou voluntarily forsookest the company of men, to become a sylvan, as they are. As for the latter, I must confess I cannot discommend thy fear, there being no friendship or intelligence common between us and the lions, tigers, bears, &c. of the forest. Yet I can tell thee, for thy comfort, that by long and assiduous practice, the fiercest of these creatures have been taught

to converse with men, to obey their commands, and to perform the parts of diligent servants, and faithful friends.

The wilderness will afford thee a fair opportunity of studying the nature of plants and animals, the various alterations in the elements, the influence of the winds and rains, meteors and exhalations, with many other secrets which are hid from the greatest part of men, who are buried alive in populous towns and cities, banished from the familiarity of their mother earth, and most of her genuine products.

In the desert, the unforced harmony of birds shall lull thy soul in innocent and grateful slumbers; the gentle winds shall waft immortal whispers to thy ravished ears, breathing unutterable sounds from paradise. The murmuring streams shall warble forth their soft and sweet eternal stories. All shall conspire to serve thy contemplation, and to transport thy mind with sacred ecstasies.

If after all this thou shall prefer the monastic enclosure, follow thy resolution, and be happy. Only remember, that though thy body be shut up within those walls, yet if thy mind straggle in vain and worldly thoughts, thou art no longer a recluse. Adieu.

Paris, 25th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1646.

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## XXII.—*To the CAPTAIN BASSA.*

IF all be true that I have reason to suspect, thou wilt find a warm divertisement at sea this spring. Though the Europeans have seemed slow in their preparations to assist the state of Venice, suffering their separate interests to supersede the care of that republic, yet now they turn their eyes thither. Their backwardness hitherto is owing to the secrecy with which our sage emperor meditat-

ed the present war. His counsels were never whispered out of the seraglio, till the same winds transported the news which wafted our invincible fleet to the shore of Candy. Now, they behold the ocean covered with the ships of the eastern empire, fear surprises them ; the princes of the Nazarenes tremble ; they look no longer on the republic of Venice with the eyes of envy, because of her pre-eminence in traffic, but with another regard : They consider her as the bulwark of Christendom, the only bank which has hitherto stemmed the tide of the Ottoman puissance, and stopped our victorious armies from overflowing all Europe.

I have informed the Reis Effendi of what I knew concerning the naval forces which are fitting out in several parts of the north and west to aid the Venetians ; but I have not told him what the Christians say of thee, neither am I willing to believe it. They speak of thee as of a man not more difficult to be corrupted than was thy predecessor, who was strangled by the order of the sultaness's mother. This censure, I hope, is an effect of their impotence ; while they flatter themselves with the imagination of bribing him, from whose courage and fortune they can expect nothing but defeats.

They trust much in the force of thy birth and education, and discourse of a certain magical character, imprinted in thy soul when thou wast baptized, which they say, is indelible. And they promise themselves, that thy native Christianity has more influence on thy heart than forced circumcision ; and that thou wilt not fight with any zeal against men of the same principle as those who gave thee thy breath. But they confide more in the charms of their gold, with which they design to bribe thee. In fine, they drink healths to the honest renega-

do; so they term him who commands the whole fleet of the Ottoman empire.

I do not give credit to these calumnies, having good grounds to boast of thy integrity. However I counsel thee, by some extraordinary service to thy master, to give the lie to these infidels: And suffer not that, which at present may be but a bare suspicion, to be improved, by thy neglect or cowardice, into a palpable evidence, that thou art false and perfidious to the supreme lord of the globe.

Paris, 6th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1646.

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XXIII.—*To ADONAI, a Jew, at Venice.*

NOW thou art fixed, it is time to write to thee. Thou hast been a rambler these three or four years, and nobody knew where to find thee. I have received eleven dispatches from thee since thy first departure from Genoa, wherein thou hast informed me of many passages of state. Now I desire thee to send me some remarks on the different nature of the people thou hast seen, their various customs and laws, with whatsoever was worthy observation in thy travels.

Italy is a fair field, yet produces darnel as well as wholesome corn; it is a beautiful garden, yet bears acornite intermixed with her roses; great virtues, and no less vices. This region is famous for the wisdom of its inhabitants, and for their proverbs; it is the Arabia of Europe, in many senses, yet much lessened in its renown since the decline of the Roman empire. The Goths and Vandals turned all into desarts where they came, and have left such impressions of their northern barbarism behind them, as made the people they conquered half savages. Hence came the general decay of learning and



knowledge in these western parts ; hence the corruption of ancient manners. The great, the noble, and the wise, bowed under the yoke of their new masters, learned their fashions, and gloried in their shame. Their examples influenced the vulgar ; debauchery became modish and authentic. Thus a general depravation of pristine integrity took place, and men became vicious by a law.

Neither has wickedness planted itself only in Europe ; the sea could not stop this boundless evil. Asia is infected also, and the vice of Italy is transported to the empire of the true believers. Thou hast seen all the chief cities between the Alps and Rhegium, which is the utmost angle of Italy, to the south ; tell me whether Sodom could exceed any of them in licentiousness ; we will not except even Rome the seat of the Christians musti. These uncircumcised have learned of thy nation to call the ancient philosophers infidels ; but, had any of those sages lived to see the abominations of the modern Nazarenes, they would have despised the faith which produced no better works.

Adonai put in practice the import of thy name ; be lord of thyself, and if thou stumblest at the light of the mussulmans, walk in that of Moses, but shun the paths of the Christians, for they are enveloped in darkness and grope at mid-day. Live according to reason and thou shalt be happy. Adieu.

Paris, 18th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1646.

#### XXIV.—To MUSTAPHA, *Berber Aga*.

THE present war of Candy is like to render that island as much the subject of the world's discourse, as it was formerly famous for being the cradle of Jupiter. In



those days it was called Crete, much celebrated in the writings of the Greek poets; afterwards it became a province of the Roman empire, then of the Grecians, next it submitted to the Saracens. But in the time of the Christian expeditions in Palestine, when Baldwin Earl of Flanders was crowned emperor of Constantinople, this island came into his possession, which he gave to a certain valiant commander in his army, a man of a noble descent, of whom the Venetians purchased it, and in their hands it has continued ever since. But now, in all probability, it will be the prize of those arms which nothing sublunary can resist.

The posts from Italy and the sea-coasts of this kingdom confirm each others news; all agreeing, that notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Venetians and Candlots to hinder the relief of Canea, yet our general is got into that haven, with vast quantities of provisions, and a sufficient reinforcement of men. They add, that forty thousand of our soldiers have made a descent in another part of the island, have gained the forts of Cisternes, Colmi, and Bicorno, and were on their march towards Suda, with a design to besiege that place. They accuse our general of barbarous cruelty, in that he caused five of the principal noblemen of that kingdom to be put to death, because they refused to betray their country, or enter into the interests of the Grand Signior.

I must confess, magnificent Aga, that whatever may be said in commendation of this general's policy and fidelity to his master, it is no argument of the goodness of his disposition. I rather admire the temper of the Duke of Orleans, who, when Graveling was surrendered to him, just as he entered the town, was heard to say these words, " Let us endeavour, by generous actions, to win the hearts of all men, so may we hope for a daily vic-

tory. Let the French learn from me this new way of conquest, to subdue men by mercy and clemency."

These are heroic sentiments, and agree well with the character of this prince, who is said never to have been the author of any man's death, nor to have revenged himself of any injury, yet a valiant soldier, an expert commander, and no bad politician.

It is not hid from the court, with what a matchless virtue he dismissed a gentleman that was hired to murder him. This assassin was suffered to pass into the duke's bed-chamber one morning early, pretending business of great moment from the queen. As soon as the duke cast his eyes on him, he spoke thus: "I know thy business friend; thou art sent to take away my life; what hurt have I done thee? It is now in my power, with a word, to have thee cut in pieces before my face; but I pardon thee, go thy way, and see my face no more."

The gentleman, stung with his own guilt, and astonished at the excellent nature of this prince, fell on his knees, confessed his design, and who employed him; and having promised eternal gratitude for this royal favour, departed without any other notice taken of him; and fearing to tarry in France, entered himself into the service of the Spanish King. It was his fortune afterwards to encounter the Duke of Orleans in a battle in Flanders. The duke, at that instant, was oppressed with a crowd of Germans who surrounded him, and in the conflict he lost his sword, which this gentleman perceiving, nimbly stepped to him, and delivered one into the duke's hands, saying withal, "Now reap the fruit of thy former clemency. Thou gavest me my life, now I put thee into a capacity to defend thy own." The prince, by this means, at length escaped the danger he was in; and that day

the fortune of war was on his side. The French had a considerable victory.

Thou seest by this, that heroic actions have something divine in them, and attract the favours of heaven. No man ever was a loser by good works; for though he be not presently rewarded, yet in tract of time some happy emergency or other arises to convince him, "That virtuous men are the darlings of providence."

Thou that art near the person of the Grand Signior, mayest find an opportunity to relate this story to him, which may make no unprofitable impression on his mind. Princes ever stand in need of faithful monitors.

Adieu, great minister, and favour Mahmut with the continuance of thy protection and friendship.

Paris, 25th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1646.

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XXV.—*To NASSUF, Bassa of Natolia.*

I RECEIVED thy letter as an argument of the continuance of that friendship which was between us, when we lived together in the seraglio. Since that time, thou and I have been employed abroad, in different services of our august emperor, who has now rewarded thy fidelity with a command, which, if it be not adequate to thy merit, is nevertheless agreeable to thy wishes.

I congratulate thy honour, and wish thee a gradual increase of it; for sudden and violent leaps are dangerous. But our glorious sultan discovers his abilities in nothing more eminently, than in adapting places of trust to the deserts and capacities of his faithful slaves; so that if he should in time think fit to exalt thee to the highest dignity in the state, we might, from the choice of so wise a prince, presage thee a better fortune than befall one of

thy name, in the reign of Sultan Achmet III. who from a slave fold in the market for three sequins, was advanced to an honour too weighty for his virtue, being made Visier Azem, and lord of the most delicious provinces in Asia; but being ambitious of absolute sovereignty, he plotted treason against his master, which being discovered, the fatal firm was signed, and all his designs were stifled with a bow-string.

By this thou mayest comprehend, how necessary it is for princes not to overload any man with dignities beyond the proportion of his humility and faithfulness. Yet rewards well placed, give new vigour to the endeavours of a slave; whereas, when good services are slighted, it does but quench the ardour with which they were performed. Few men are so spiritual, as to do great and heroic things, purely for the sake of internal complacency; and I doubt not but the Decii themselves, in so freely sacrificing their lives for their country, had regard to human glory. Even Seneca, whom one would take for the most mortified stoic of that age, by his writings, yet is conceived to have found more encouragement in the treasures of gold, with which Nero's bounty had filled his coffers, than in all his morals, of which he had such refined sentiments and elegant expressions.

What I have said, thou hast wisdom enough to apply to thyself, without being vain-glorious: Let those whom thou employest in any meritorious services, and who discharge their trust well, be encouraged with the same proportions of bounty. Munificence will not only add to thy glory, but also advance thy interest, since thou wilt ever have occasion for thy slaves; and he who has once tasted thy liberality, as a reward for any eminent performance, had he no other motive than the pleasure

of renewing so profitable an experiment, will freely hazard his life to serve thee in an extremity.

This method thou wilt find of no small use to thee in the wars to which thou art going, where it will be necessary for thee to recompense the least singular bravery of the meanest foldier, not only with applause, but with some preferment in the army. This will not only prove a spur to others, but even to the person so rewarded, and put him upon new efforts of courage, to attract the eyes of his munificent general. This will be the way for thee, in time, to have an army composed all of captains, or men qualified for such.

Yet let not this diminish the severity of that discipline, which is requisite to retain a prosperous army in their obedience. I counsel thee to be strict in requiring the least military duty, and industrious in performing thy own part, which will be an example to the rest; yet rather be forward to lead in labours than in dangers, in regard thou wilt be more serviceable in a battle, by thy counsels and orders, than by personally entering the combat. In all things, prefer the welfare of the Ottoman empire, to whatsoever else is most dear to thee, even to thy own honour, which yet ought to be dearer to thee than thy life.

If thou thinkest I have taken too much liberty to advise thee, accuse thyself for having honoured me with thy friendship, which admits of no reserves in conversation.

Paris, 7th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1646.



XXVI.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

IT is a vast disappointment to the Venetians, that our general in Candy has so opportunely reinvigoured Canca and increased the garrison there. Morosini is blamed for this by those that wish him no good. What will not envy suggest, when it beholds a man on the top of honour? This general, to give an enemy his due, is a man of spirit and true fortitude; neither courting nor shunning dangers in the service of his country, but when once engaged in perils for that cause, he is fearless as a lion. If he has not hitherto had occasion to give the state so desperate a proof of his loyalty, as once did the Roman Curtius (who bravely galloped into the bottomless chasm to pacify their angry gods), yet he has often demonstrated, that his courage and fidelity come not short of the ancient heroes. In a word, he has done too much for the republic of Venice, to escape the spleen of other grandees. All must be generals, or the war will not prosper. Each man's ambition dictates this to the state, that a man of conduct would soon expel the Turks out of that island; thus, in his conceit, laying a train for his own promotion.

— Wouldest thou know Morosini's crime, that excites all this passion? To speak the truth, it was an oversight advantageous to the Ottomans. He put out with his whole fleet to sea, and left the port of Canca open, by which means, three of our ships got in with plenty of provisions; so that the town is now in a condition to sustain a long siege, and the Venetians despair of ever recovering it; yet Morosini has made so plausible an apology, that the senate have acquitted him, not judging it consistent either with justice or their interest, to suffer one miscarriage, the effect of a fair intention, to outweigh his nu-

nerous merits and services ; for the occasion of his thus suddenly abandoning the avenue of that haven, was to chase some of our vessels then under sail not many leagues off ; and the taking of those vessels, on board of which were abundance of slaves, justified to the senate the truth of his pretensions. However, there are not wanting such as say, he held a private correspondence with our general ; others, that the present governor of Canea had formerly taken captive at sea a son of Morosini's, whom he now offered to restore, in case he would withdraw his ships from before the haven for a few days. I know not how far this may be credited ; but it is a certain truth that Morosini has his son again, and he defended himself by pleading, that he redeemed him, by exchanging a Mahometan captive of equal quality, whom he had aboard his ship.

And thou knowest, that this manner of barter is lawful in war. Adonai the Jew sends me this intelligence, and I dare believe him ; for since the instructions I sent him to Genoa, he has taken care to ascertain his reports. I wish it were as true that Morosini could be prevailed on to accept the friendships of the Sublime Porte ; but the character of that general gives me no encouragement to hope for so fortunate a treachery from his severe virtue.

However, I will hope and believe, that the eternal patron of true believers, will give such a happy issue to the Ottoman arms in Candy, and all other parts, as shall dispose the Nazarenes that remain unconquered, to honour HIM whom they have hitherto despised and blasphemed, even the prophet, who could neither write nor read.

Paris, 7th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1646.

XXVII.—*To CARA HALI, a Physician, at Constantinople.*

THE time of year is now come, wherein the earth turns her inside out, and nature calls forth the hidden virtues of that element, to grace the world with an infinite variety of pleasant forms and colours. The eye is lost in such a crowd of different beauties, and every sense is ravished with delightful objects. The young men and virgins throng the fields, to behold the resurrection of flowers and herbs ; and the old feel new vigour springing in their bodies, as though they had been in Medea's cauldron. Even Mahmut himself, who has drooped all the winter, now begins to lift up his head, and partake in the common restoration of all things.

If I am capable of guessing at the occasion of my frequent sickness, I believe it may in part be attributed to the want of fresh air in the place where I lodge. There is a vast difference between the streets of Paris and those of Constantinople. I seem to myself to be buried alive in this close city, where my chamber window affords me no farther prospect than I can spit ; whereas, in Constantinople the gardens are so intermixed with houses, that it looks like a city in the midst of a forest, and by the advantage of its situation, is always refreshed with breezes from the sea.

Besides the impurity of these infidels, who empty all their filth in the streets, so that the dirt of Paris may be smelt some miles off, the uncleanness of their diet contributes in no small measure to my distemper, being forced either to feed on flesh with the blood in it, or live on herbs. They laugh at the niceness of the Mussulmans, who will eat no meat that was knocked down or strangled. They seem to be greedy of blood, saving it in vessels, and, mixing it with flour of wheat, make a certain

bread thereof, which they devour without the least squeamishness. A true believer would tremble at the sight of such impiety. I tell thee it is impossible to live among them, and not be polluted : They have no methods of purification ; they wallow and hug themselves in their uncleanness ; they are worse than the beasts.

Now the spring has provided a new banquet, wherein there is no impurity, I am resolved to live like a Mussulman, and conform to the precepts of our holy Lawgiver, who, when he beholds my zeal and abstinence, will send the angel of health from his paradise to repair my decayed constitution.

The French philosophers are busied in an inquisition after certain kinds of birds, which, from the second day of this moon, they say are not to be found in the whole kingdom, though the woods and fields were full of them during the winter. Some are of opinion, that they fly to the moon ; asserting, that if their wings will but carry them beyond the magnetic force of the earth, it will be no pain to glide through the upper airy region till they arrive within the attractive energy of that planet, where they will naturally seek rest. Others, with more probability, say, that these birds take their flight to some other region on earth, whose climate is more agreeable to their nature, at this time of year.

I wish I could as easily once a-year take my flight to Constantinople, where my heart is winter and summer. Adieu, dear Hali, and pity Mahmut, who counts himself unhappy in nothing so much as in being absent from his friends.

Paris, 7th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1646.

XXVIII.—*To the TEFTERDAR, or Lord-Treasurer.*

It appears that France has some extraordinary design by sea. When and where it will be put in execution is not yet known ; but the vast preparations that are making, seem to threaten some foreign invasion rather than a naval combat : It looks as if they had an expedition in hand greater than that of Xerxes, to make a bridge over the ocean, and join the separated parts of the world together. New arsenals are built in several maritime towns, and all the forests are cut down to fill them with timber for ships of war ; the mountains are left naked of trees, and the stately woods are transplanted into the havens. An infinite number of men are employed in making cordage, chains, bullets, anchors, ordnance, and all other necessaries belonging to a navy.

This is Cardinal Mazarini's project, under pretence of setting the poor of the kingdom at work, and disburdening the commonwealth of vagabonds and idle persons.— But Mahmut is not placed here to be amused with state-umbrages. It is evident that this minister designs to render his master formidable on both elements. Agents are sent to buy ships in all parts ; and the very peasants are forced from the vineyards and fields to man the greatest fleet that ever this kingdom fitted out to sea.

Last moon the Sieur de Quesne was sent to assist Monsieur Chanut in purchasing vessels in Swedeland. It seems there had been some demurs in his negotiation ; to remove which this latter was sent with fresh instructions.— But Monsieur Chanut rejected him ; and ten days ago came an express from that minister, desiring that a more intelligent colleague might be sent him, in regard he found it difficult to treat successfully with a people too much elated with continual victories.



Upon this the court have sent a courier to Stockholm, with new orders, whereby he is forbid to make any farther overtures, in order to the continuance of the league between those two crowns ; that France may not always appear in a suppliant posture, whilst the Swedes seem careless to conserve a friendship which they themselves first coveted.

These misunderstandings may in a short time proceed to a greater alienation, and in the end to an open rupture ; which has the more probability, in that General Koningmark lately stopped some French troops in their march, under pretence of seeing their passports, but really, as it is thought, to corrupt the soldiers, and withdraw them from the fidelity they owe their sovereign.

This is highly resented here ; and they begin to discourse of making peace with Germany.

What the issue of these things will be is yet in the dark ; but God, from whose throne hangs the chain of destiny, which reaches to the centre of the earth, will, I hope, so dispose of all human events, that the quarrels of the Nazarenes shall minister occasion to the Osmons to increase the territories of our puissant emperor.

Paris, 1st of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1646.

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XXIX.—To NATHAN BEN SADDI, a Jew at Vienna.

I CANNOT but highly applaud the resolution thou hast taken, as thy letter intimates, to inquire into the grounds of the religion thou art of. This shows that thou settest a value on thy reason, and thinkest thyself beyond the pupillage of a child ; that thou esteamest thyself of years to make a choice of thy religion, and not to take it upon the bare credit of thy forefathers. It is certain,

that error may be traditional as well as truth ; and the Pagan idolaters pleaded a greater antiquity for the altars of their gods, than could the followers of Moses for the temple of Jerusalem, the tabernacle in the desert, or for the promulgation of the law itself on Mount Sinai ; since there was scarce a region on the continent which had not established rites and ceremonies of worship long before Moses, or even Jacob, the great father of the Israelites, were born.

Amongst the rest of the nations, Arabia, my native country, was peculiarly blessed with the footsteps of the illustrious Ibrahim, grandfather to Israel, from whom the Jews descend. In this happy country that renowned prophet sojourned, conversed with angels, and, with the majesty which cannot be uttered, he preached the unity of the divine essence, converted the people from their idolatry, built an oratory at Mecca, and was taken up into Paradise.

Ismael, his eldest son, and heir of his father's spirit, as of his territories, trod in the footsteps of the assumpst of God. He brake down the idols, asserted one God, the resurrection, the day of judgment, the joys of paradise, and the torments of hell. His offspring multiplied, and peopled all the east ; the princes of this holy line subdued the infidel nations, and rooted themselves in the most fertile regions of Asia, professing themselves mussulmans, or true believers. Thus passed the light of God from the face of Ibrahim to his posterity, by successive generations, till at length it rested on the face of Mahomet, our holy lawgiver, and was increased with admirable splendour by the frequent visits of the angel Gabriel. He took the root of evil out of the prophet's heart, brought him down the Alcoran from Heaven, and gave him victory and honour ; called him by a new name, **THE SEAL**

OF THE PROPHETS; carried him to the throne of God, through legions of devils that waited below the moon to destroy him; and finally, made his sepulchre glorious, and resorted to by the believers of all nations on the earth.

I send thee this abstract of the mussulman history, to the end thou mayest see what pretensions the children of Ismael have to the true law, which you of the posterity of Isaac would monopolize to yourselves; as if God had not sent prophets to all nations, to lead them into the right way, and not into the way of infidels. Nevertheless, take not these things on my credit, but examine the records of thy own nation, and the history of past times. Weigh all things in the balance; consult thy reason, which is an indeficient light to those who follow it. Your law was once pure and uncorrupted; but in time the devil inserted many errors: He seduced your fathers; they returned upon their steps, and fell back into idolatry. Then God raised up the Messias, to reform all things; but Him ye rejected; and when he was taken up into paradise, ye reported, "That he was hanged on a tree." In this the Nazarenes are your fools, and fight against themselves; whilst they assert, as you do, that he who is immortal and triumphant among the hundred and twenty-four thousand prophets, "was crucified between two thieves;" thus bringing a reproach on the apostle of God, and on their own faith, in believing things inconsistent with the goodness and power of the divine majesty. Without doubt, Jesus the Son of Mary, is ascended body and soul into paradise; who, whilst he was on earth, said, "Worship one God, your Lord and mine."

Let me not seem importunate or troublesome. I seek not to circumvent thy reason, but to direct it. Think seven times before thou change once. I will procure the

books of our law ; peruse them with judgment, and tell me then, whether thou hast ever seen any writing comparable to the Alcoran : The majesty of the style speaks it above human original ; it is exempt from contradiction from the beginning to the end ; it confirms the Old Testament, which thou believest ; it is all over clothed with light ; doubtless it is no other than a transcript of the book written in Heaven.

If after all thy search thou shalt determine otherwise, follow thou thy law, and I will follow mine. We both worship one God, Lord of the universe.

Paris, 10th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1646.

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XXX.—*To the same.*

LET not the fear of displeasing those of thy nation hinder thee from embracing the truth. God shall protect thee from the malice of unbelievers. Thy interest is already great among the mussulmans ; our august empcror will augment both that and thy honour. Take hold of the strongest knot, and adhere not to Tagot. The cleanliness and delicacy of the mussulmans may invite thee, which far exceeds that of the Jews, and yet is void of superstition : We only obey the sincere dictates of nature, which teach us, that so long as the soul dwells in this mansion of flesh, it partakes of bodily pollutions. It is to avoid these we abstain from certain meats and drinks, which cannot be touched without contamination. To this end, do we observe that superlative niceness in our washings and purifications, which discriminates us from all the world beside. Doubtless, our law is but the law of Moses, refined and sublimated from the dregs of adventitious error.

Write often to me, and whatever reasons may prevail on thee not to change thy religion, let no arguments tempt thee to swerve from thy fidelity to the sovereign of sovereigns on earth, the Grand Signior, in whose veins runs the most exalted blood of the human race.

Here is a report in this city, that the Elector of Brandenburg will demand the Queen of Sweden in marriage. Let me know if it be true, that I may inform the ministers of the lofty Porte, from whom nothing ought to be concealed that occurs of moment betwixt the two Poles.

Inform me also what passes remarkable in the assembly of the deputies at Munster, and whether it be true, that the Danube has lately overflowed its banks, and carried away four hundred houses in its rapid course.

Such stories are told here, by those who know not how to pass away their time, but in hearkening after foreign news, to furnish themselves with matter to amuse the credulous, and beget admiration of their intelligence.

I have sent thee a watch of my making; if thou acceptest it with good will, it is a sufficient acknowledgment.

May God, whose presence fills the universe, disclose himself to thee, in the way of salvation, and continue to breathe good motions into thy soul.

Paris, 10th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1646.

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XXXI.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

ADONAI the Jew has much improved himself in his late progress through Italy. He is grown a perfect statesman, having found out the way to penetrate into secrets, and to dispatch business without any noise. He may



prove very serviceable at Venice, during the present war of Candy. His acquaintance in that city gives him access to the cabals of the senators, who spare not, over their wine, to whisper the counsels of the state, and to descant upon the measures that are taken to defend the republic against the invincible prowess of the Ottoman armies.

It is publicly known, that they have sent ambassadors to the crown of Muscovy, that of Poland and to the Cossacs, inviting them to enter into a league against the Grand Signior. But few are acquainted with the private treaty they are making with the bassa of Aleppo. We owe this discovery to the diligence and wit of this son of Israel. He has drawn the secret from the mouths of several eminent counsellors of state; and assures me, that the senate have made such proposals to the governor, as cannot fail of inducing him to revolt.

This may prove of ill consequence, if not timely prevented; the pernicious example of this bassa, may incite others to tread in his steps; especially his neighbours of Sidon and Damascus, who have for a long time meditated a sovereignty, independent of the throne which first established them in those charges. Besides, the single forces of this bassa will be able to give a powerful diversion to the arms of the empire already engaged in Candy, Dalmatia, and other parts, by sea and land. He says, the Venetians speak much in praise of this bassa's justice, whereof they relate many examples; among the rest, a certain cook among the Franks of that city, was accused of dressing and selling putrified flesh, whereby many that eat thereof were infected with the plague. Complaint being made of this to the bassa, he sends for the cook and examines him about it; he replied, that he sold none but good and wholesome meat, for if it happened, that

at any time he was forced to keep any flesh in his house above three days, he so seasoned it with spices and herbs, as made it very savoury, and without any ill scent.

The bassa not having patience to hear any more of this fetid apology, commanded his arms and legs to be cut off, and the veins to be seared up; ordering, that during the short time he had to live, he should have no other food but what was made of his own limbs.

They relate one more passage, of a complaint that was made by a peasant, whose daughter this bassa's only son had ravished. The bassa compelled him to marry her, with this charge, "Let me hear no more complaints of thee, unless thou art resolved to leave me without a son."

It is reported here, that the King of Persia has made a peace with the Great Mogul, and that they will both turn their forces against our august emperor.

Here is also a courier arrived from Marseilles, who brings news of the revolt of Cavarra; the inhabitants of that place having shaken off the obedience they owe to the sultan, and put themselves under the protection of the Venetians; and that General Grimani has taken four ships of Ragusa, laden with ammunition for our army. He adds also, that Morosini has thirty small vessels, besides galleys, under the very walls of the Dardanelles. I long ago suggested to the Visier Azem, that the weakness of these castles would one time or other encourage the Christians to perform some notable exploit in the Hellespont. But Mahmut's counsel was not regarded. Now the event justifies my advice, the Porte will consult the security of that avenue. I wish they do not practise the Trojan wisdom. The Venetians have a powerful fleet: If they block up the Hellespont, and hinder our ships from sailing into the Archipelago, and the

Cossacs, in the mean while, cover the Black Sea with their barks, committing a thousand piracies and ravages, what will become of the imperial city? Whence will they provide sustenance for so many millions of people as inhabit that city, and the parts adjacent?

These things are worthy of consideration; and thou who hast the care of that capital seat of the Ottoman empire, wilt not blame Mahmut for putting thee in mind of the danger which threatens even the seraglio itself at this juncture. However, I have done my duty, sage minister, and refer the rest to thy wisdom. My letters are all registered; and if affairs should succeed ill, it will be manifested, that Mahmut, who watches night and day to serve the great master of the world, has not been wanting to give timely notice of what might be advantageous to the monarchy of the true faithful.

Thou, who art celebrated for thy justice and probity, pardon the liberty which my zeal for thy master and mine renders worthy of excuse.

Paris, 19th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1646.

## B O O K II.

LETTER I.—*To the most Magnificent and Illustrious*  
VISIER AZEM, *at the Porte.*

OSMIN the dwarf, whom I formerly mentioned, remains still in the court, and continues his good offices in communicating to me such passages as come to his knowledge. He has a subtle wit, and bears no hearty love to the Christians, though he be one himself in profession.

He frequently visits me, and trusts me with his secrets. One day he convinced me by evident circumstances, that Cardinal Mazarini was projecting to give some secret and sudden blow to the Ottoman empire, for which Osmin seems to be concerned by a natural inclination, being, as I told thee, born of Mahometan parents ; he was uneasy, till he had acquainted me with his apprehensions ; and I gave him such instructions as I thought most proper on this occasion. I set my thoughts on the rack, to prevent so dire a mischief ; and having premeditated well on this affair, I pitched on a course which would at once clear me from the cardinal's suspicion, and by seeming to favour his designs, would absolutely overthrow them. I went to him boldly one day, and being admitted to his closet, I thus addressed that politician :

“ THERE are now nine years elapsed, great minister, since I first breathed the air of France, during all which time I have not only shared in common with the natives, the benefits which have accrued to this noble kingdom, under the auspicious ministry of Cardinal Richlieu, and his no less eminent successor, but have also received many particular honours from that illustrious prince of the church, to which your eminence has been pleased to make some undeserved additions. It is to you both I owe the character which has introduced me into the acquaintance and favour of the nobility, who on that score have thought me worthy to instruct their children in the Greek and Arabic tongues, have vouchsafed to admit me to their salt, and to encourage me with the hopes of finding a comfortable repose in the bosom of the Gallican church, after a tedious peregrination from my own country.

“ When I reflect on all the accumulated blessings I

enjoy, under the protection of your eminence, blessings equally transcending my ambition as they do my merits, I apply all my studies, to find out some acceptable way of acknowledgment to my gracious benefactor : And because nothing can be more welcome to the guardian of France, than the means of advancing the public good of the kingdom committed to his care, I now presume, as a testimony of my gratitude, to propose to your eminence some speculations, which, if put in execution, will, in my judgment, not only render France the most formidable and absolute monarchy on earth, but also the whole Catholic world in eternal obligations to her, and give just reason to change the style of his Most Christian Majesty, from Eldest son of the Church, to that of Father of all Christendom.

“ Your eminence will not wonder at the zeal of a stranger, or the care that Titus of Moldavia takes for France. In being solicitous for this kingdom, I consult the welfare of my own country, and of all the nations which profess the faith of Jesus ; since it is easy to see, that in the fate of France, that of all Europe is involved.

“ It is a long time since the dismembered relics of the Roman empire bordering on Asia found themselves too weak to resist the puissance of the Ottoman arms. All Greece was soon overrun by the warlike Turks. Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia, with the greatest part of the Upper Hungary, quickly became tributaries to the inveterate enemies of the Christian name ; and Germany itself is so enfeebled by their repeated incursions, that all the emperor can do, is to make dishonourable and costly compositions, buying a precarious peace with little less charges than would serve some more fortunate prince to carry on a glorious and successful war. Neither is the



state of Venice in any better condition of defence, the Turks having pared away whole provinces from that once flourishing commonwealth, and by their continual invasions and hostilities, reduced her to a necessity of merchandising with the Ottoman Porte for peace, which is no sooner concluded, but on the least pretence is broke again by those who hold themselves not obliged to keep faith with Christians. Behold at this time, without provocation on the part of Venice, or a declaration of war by the Grand Signior, the late league broken on a sudden, and in a most clandestine manner: Behold, Candy environed with their fleet by sea, and her fertile plains covered with armies of Mahometans by land. Behold her cities in the hands of her enemies, and her villages laid desolate, her nobles put to the sword, and her merchants led into captivity. In fine, behold this afflicted commonwealth yet struggling with her fate, and sending her ambassadors to all the princes and states of Christendom, demanding, or rather, in a suppliant manner, imploring their assistance; yet she finds little or no help from any but the Pope and the knights of Malta; and his holiness has enough to do to preserve the patrimony of the church from violence. The state of Genoa is too intent upon her traffic, to regard the calamities of her neighbours; and all the princes of Italy have such diversions at home, as render their application to things abroad very cold and indifferent. In the mean while, the Turks gain ground, double their strength, and increase their victories! O deplorable state of Christendom! Is there no redress for these miseries? Yes, surely there is! and such a redress, as only lies in your power, great minister, to apply; which, in the experiment, I dare assure will prove effectual.

“ I do not pretend to the visions and inspirations of

Peter the Hermit, who garbled secular and divine offices, and arming himself in habiliments of steel, went dragoon-ing up and down Christendom, at the head of a confused rabble, to render himself popular, and acquire the triple character of pilgrim, priest, and captain. The ill success of his rash expeditions showed, that he was only stung with a religious caprice, and that God approved not his folly. I do not go about to propose another crusade, or contrive a way to shed whole deluges of human blood, with no other consequence, than to stain history with the sanguine memoirs of Christendom's vanity and misfortune. Besides, that would be found impracticable, in this age, which was easy to put in execution five or six hundred years ago. The world is not so devout now, as it was in those days; neither are men so prompt to run the risk of their lives on religious errands, for the honour of being esteemed martyrs. It will be difficult to find out a new list of Godfreys, Baldwins, Guys, and other heroes, to lead the champions of the cross through all the hardships of sea and land, so many hundred miles, into remote and desolate regions, to combat not only with flesh and blood, but with famine, pestilence, and all the miseries of human life; and, as if this were not enough, to sheath their swords also in each others bowels, for punctilios, mere trifles of mistaken honour, and ill-timed emulation; and all this only to purchase the empty title of King of Jerusalem, or the precarious authority of a Grecian emperor; both short-lived honours; the one to be lost in a little time, with all Palestine, to the Saracens; the other depending only on the pleasure of the multitude! Such were the glorious fruits of the Christian arms in those days! Such the triumphs attending our victories! These the trophies which our fathers erected to their own disgrace; when, after a war of so

many years, they left the Holy Land in a worse condition than they found it; and of so many hundred thousand men as marched thither, threatening the utter subversion of the Saracen empire, there scarce returned enough to disperse the news of their own overthrow.

“ Waving therefore these visionary rash expeditions, I now propose to your eminence an undertaking, which, though it may make less noise in the world, yet carries more probability of success, and will not only promote the interest of France, but redound to the advantage of all Europe.

“ No man who is acquainted with history, can be ignorant what claims the Kings of France have made to the empire of the west since the days of Charlemagne, the royal predecessor of his present majesty, who was dignified with the imperial title by the sovereign bishop. Neither is it unknown, by what artifices the House of Austria have procured the translation of this sacred authority to their own family.

“ Your eminence is sensible by what tyrannous and unjust methods they have maintained themselves in this highest pitch of human glory; and not content with this, how they have aspired after the monarchy of the whole world. All the north have groaned under the burden of their insupportable tyranny; and their encroachments on the south, have rendered that line little less infamous. They spare neither civil nor ecclesiastical rights, in the pursuit of their ambition, not even the patrimony of St. Peter, which has ever been esteemed sacred and inviolable by Christian princes. They have sacked Rome itself, and led the supreme pastor of the church into captivity. What should I speak of the Hollanders, Switzers, Grisons, and other nations, which, impatient of the Austrian yoke, revolted from their cruel masters, and

have ever since asserted their liberty by the force of their arms? What should I mention the frequent troubles in Bohemia, Transylvania, and Hungary, when the inhabitants of those countries, grown desperate with their daily oppressions, have bravely endeavoured to redeem themselves and their posterity from perpetual servitude, but for want of a powerful protector, have been forced to yield to their old masters? That incestuous race are grown odious to the whole world; even the princes of the empire are forced to smother their resentments, when they elect one to possess the imperial diadem whom they cannot but hate.

“ That therefore which I aim at in this address, is, to represent to your eminence, how easy it will be in this juncture, for his most Christian majesty to recover the imperial crown, which of right belongs to none but the successors of the renowned Charlemagne; and which even the greatest part of the Germans themselves wish to see placed on the head of Lewis XIV. Most of the electors are already inclining to the interests of France: It will not be difficult to win the rest. The Hungarians, &c. long for a deliverer; and the other provinces beyond the Danube, will freely open the gates of their cities to let in his armies, whom they look on as the hope of all Christendom. The Helvetians, who are allies of this crown, will not fail to perform their part. The Swedes have already plucked many feathers from the ravenous eagle; and the forces of this crown have blunted her talons. Another campaign will quite deplume her, enervate her last vigour, and end the tedious controversy.

“ Let not therefore an untimely peace with the emperor, so much talked of, stop the current of the French triumphs! Let not the sinister practices of German pen-

sioners in the Swedish court, occasion a rupture between two the most potent and victorious crowns in Europe ! Or rather, let not Queen Christina reap the sole glory of so fortunate and profitable a war ! His majesty has a formidable army by land, and in a short time will have an invincible fleet by sea. Continual victories court the perseverance of the French valour, whilst the justice of your cause invites to the battle.

“ All things conspire to put a period to the Austrian grandeur. Only snatch the present opportunity, which, once lost, may never be recovered again. It was only the sudden and unexpected fate of Henry IV. this king's grandfather, of eternal memory, that hindered him from putting in execution the same design I now propose ; and if Lewis XIII. did not prosecute it, it was because he wanted a favourable juncture. Now, behold it offers itself ; it is in your power, supreme director of the state, under his majesty, to build the fortune of France so high, that all the nations of Christendom may repose under its shadow. Pursue the success which Heaven has already granted ; and when all Europe is thus settled in a durable peace, either making honourable friendships with, or entirely submitting to this new Gallic empire, then will be the time to call the Ottomans to an account, for the ravages and spoils they have committed in Christian countries, and to carry our arms to the walls of Constantinople, and drive these barbarians back to their primitive rocks and desarts, from whence they have thus long straggled, to ruin the most desirable provinces of Asia and Europe, nay, and of the whole world.

“ There is no other way but this, in my judgment, to stop the progress of the Turkish victories ; since it is impossible to make a durable peace among Christian princes but by conquest, I mean such a peace as will inspire them



with the resolution, and put them into a capacity, to unite all their forces in a war against the Mahometans. As for the present condition of the republic, if their losses were greater than they are like to be, yet they will be inconsiderable, in comparison of the mighty gain which will afterwards accrue, not only to them, but to all the Christian nations, by advancing the French crown to that height of grandeur designed for it by fate. Hitherto the Christian princes have only endeavoured to apply a remedy to the part particularly affected; from whence, if by fortune they chased the distemper, it soon brake out in some other member; whence it came to pass that we lost province after province, and the Turks are almost gotten into the heart of Europe. If therefore we design to drive them thence, it is necessary to follow this method, which will be found the only way to pluck this evil up by the roots.

“Go on then, most prudent and illustrious guardian of the crown, destined to command the earth: Go on, and lift up our great master to the wreath with which the tutelar angel of Europe is ready to environ his sacred temples. Let not the German deputies at Munster any longer amuse you with feigned overtures of peace; but pursue the propitious fate of France, which waits to lead our armies to victories, triumphs, and glories, and to establish a new empire in the world, to which all nations shall pay homage, and fly for protection.”

Thou seest, illustrious and serene visier, that I have used much flattery in this address. It is a necessary vice in the court of France, where no Diogenes can have audience. It cannot be expected that I should discover, by the cardinal's answer, what his sentiments were of my

project. He is of a debonaire humour, and will rather feign virtues to commend in another man, than put him to the blush by mentioning his real vices. This is an effect of his natural disposition, which he is wise enough to improve to the ends of policy ; there being no subtler artifice to gain a popular esteem, than by the reputation of a generous temper.

However, I think I said nothing that could justly offend him, unless he were endued with the incommunicable gift of discerning hearts ; for otherwise, at the worst, he could but tax me with a loyal presumption and mistake, in proposing things altogether impracticable.

These were such as thou wilt easily discern, when thou considerest, that though they appear fair and easy in the attempt, as the circumstances of Europe are at present, yet the revolution of a few moons may quite change the face of affairs : New and unthought-of difficulties may arise ; the emperor may make a peace with Swedeland, the pope might interpose his mediation and authority, the assembly at Munster might have a conclusion according to their wishes, the electoral princes might be more firmly fastened to the interest of the empire ; besides, another campaign may prove as fatal to the French, as the former have been propitious. After all, if they should find encouragement to begin this enterprize, and should meet with answerable success in the prosecution of it, yet a thousand occurrences would emerge, to hinder them from enjoying their new gotten empire long, or from being able to maintain a war against the empire, whose subjects are infinite, and treasures inexhaustible.

If thou, who art the light of the Osman monarchy, shalt approve of what I have done, my happiness will be great ; nevertheless thy reproofs will not make me miser-

able, since they are arguments of thy condescension and favour.

Paris, 10th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1646.

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II.—*To ISMAEL MOUTA FARACA, a White Eunuch.*

THY letter is come safe to my hands, accompanied with a munificent present from Egri Boynou, who thou tellest me is deprived of his eyes by the Grand Signior's order. I condole the calamity of my friend, yet accuse not the justice of him who is master of us all. We are mussulmans, and must not dispute the pleasure of Heaven, or the commands of our sovereigns. It is an argument of their clemency, when they retrench their anger, and spare the lives of their slaves. The sultan is merciful in a higher degree, in not extending his hands to the wealth of our friend, but has left that and his liberty untouched, whereby he is still in a capacity of enjoying many pleasures, which are denied to thousands who have their sight.

I do not write this, as if I were void of compassion toward my friend. I owe him still the same affection, as when he was able to read the sincerity of it in my face. But I would not have the loss of his eyes abate the sight of his soul, which is his reason. Let him remember, that a famous philosopher has done that voluntarily to himself, for the sake of a less interrupted contemplation, which is imposed on our friend as a punishment. There is no outward disaster can hurt the optics of a mind guarded with patience, and shut up within the circles of its own light. Such a soul is impregnable against all the assaults of fortune, and triumphs over destiny itself.

Besides, our beloved eunuch can still converse with his

friends, which is a privilege the deaf would almost give their eyes to enjoy. It is hard to determine which of those two senses would be missed with least regret, especially to a man, who, by his excellent voice and skill in singing, seems to be the very soul of music.

What is it in all this infinite variety of visible objects that affects the eye with so refined a pleasure, but the harmonious disposition and symmetry of the parts, which compose the whole scene of the universe? And may not that pleasure be translated to the ear, when it receives the proportionate measures and exquisite cadences of sounds? Certainly music is no other than beauty to the ear, as beauty is music to the eye.

But our friend Egri needs not these encouragements; he understands the way to make himself happy, and has wisdom enough to put it in practice.

The Grand Signior's fury is pacified. Egri lives: He has houses and gardens; gardens replenished with all manner of fruits and flowers to gratify his taste and smell: He is master of much treasure in silver and gold, and of many slaves. If all these cannot contribute to his felicity, he is master of himself, which is essential happiness.

Thou who succeedest him in that honourable post, and guardest the avenue of the majestic chamber, where the addresses and supplications of all the princes of the earth are made at the feet of our august emperor, watch thy senses, and obey thy reason. Remember thy predecessor's fate, and forget not Mahmut: But above all things, forget not thyself. Adieu.

Paris, 20th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1646.

## III.—To DGNET OGLOU.

I AM extremely surprised, and equally troubled, at the severe punishment which Sultan Ibrahim has inflicted on Egri Boynou. His successor, Ismael Mouta Faraca, sent me the first news of it, but said nothing of the eunuch's crime. Neither would I request that satisfaction of a man, who derives a new lustre from the tragical eclipse of my friend, lest my love should have betrayed my discretion, and tempted me to utter that which is not proper for a slave of the Sultan's to express. Our thoughts are our own whilst we keep them chained up in our breasts ; but if once we suffer them to take air in words, they become another man's, who may make use of them to our ruin. I never had familiarity enough with Ismael, to trust him with reflections of this nature. Besides, his own letter to me discovered too much freedom to be void of design, it being the first that ever passed between us ; which for that reason ought to have been dictated in a style more reserved. I set him a pattern in my answer, not letting a word escape my pen, which might speak less resignation to the will of our master, than tenderness for my friend's suffering.

But with thee I dare use greater freedom : My long experience of thy integrity will justify this boldness. Tell me, my Dgnet, was it not the blindness of Sultan Ibrahim's passion, which has robbed Egri of his sight ? Answer me without disguise, Was it not some caprice of jealousy ? Was it not because the master thought he saw too much, that the slave sees not now at all ? If that sense was not judged criminal in Egri, why was it in particular punished ? But it is in vain to measure the cruel frolics of a sovereign monarch by a rule, who makes his will a law.



The Christians say, the Ottoman princes are butchers, and the whole empire shambles, where persons of all degrees are sacrificed to the lust or passion of a tyrant. I tell thee, though I approve not the licentious tongues of these infidels, yet it appears too true, that so uncontrollable a power as the Eastern monarchs are<sup>d</sup> vested with, prompts them to commit many violences, for which justice can make no plea. It were to be wished, that the practices of the sublime seraglio did not too often verify it. Suffer me to be exasperated a little for the cruel sentence executed on my friend, the most accomplished person within the walls of that magnificent palace. Doubtless, he owes the loss of his eyes to the grudge of some envious minion, who would not brook so dangerous a rival in the sultan's favour; for this unfortunate eunuch, who charmed all hearts, had made some impression also on the cruel Ibrahim's. He often loved to hear him sing the lively Doric strains to chase away his melancholy; for Egri is a second Orpheus, whose voice, thou knowest, inspired the trees and rocks with passion. Besides, he has many other gifts, which rendered his person and conversation delectable to all, and taught the whole seraglio new lessons of Platonic love.

When thou hast received this, I desire thee to give him a visit. Thou knowest his house at Galata. Embrace him in my name, and give him a kiss of faithful friendship. Forget not also to return him my acknowledgments for the diamonds he sent me; and cheer him with this thought, that one day his eyes shall be renewed in paradise, far brighter than those glittering jewels. Adieu.

Paris, 20th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1645.

IV.—To DICHIEU HUSSEIN, *Bassa*.

IT is not easy to guess at the motive which induced the Duke of Orleans to begin this year's campaign in so rigorous a season. It was the first moon, and the ground was covered with deep snows (an ill time to march in an enemy's country); and when these snows were dissolved, floods followed. It seems as if he were thirsty of fame, and would acquire the character of a hardy warrior; resolving to shun no fatigue which might advance the reputation of his arms.

The Duke of Enguien, spurred on with a glorious emulation, soon followed with another army, but by a different road. There are four marshals of France gone with them. These early marches make a great noise.—But little of action could be expected, while the wary Flemings, knowing the passes of the country, and the force of the floods, have kept their winter-quarters, spending that time at ease, in preparing all things necessary for a more seasonable campaign, which they have now begun.

In this the Spanish policy deserves commendation, who would not expose the health and lives of their soldiers to unnecessary rigours, but waited till the sun had well dried up the unwholesome damps of the earth, and shedding his benignant influence through the air, invited them forth into the field. But when I thus approve the wisdom of the Spaniards, think not that I condemn the sprightly genius of the French, who seem to approach nearest the bravery of the Mussulman armies.

The action of a French officer was worthy of remark, who being sent from the camp with letters to the king and queen, arrived at the court, the 24th day of the second moon, whilst the ground was yet frozen hard. Af-

ter he had delivered his message, the chamberlain of the royal household appointed him a lodging for that night in the king's palace, he being to return to Flanders the next day. But he generously refused it, saying, "It became not him to lie in a bed of down, when his general, with the whole army, were forced to sleep on the frozen earth. Therefore, causing some straw to be brought out of the stables, he took his repose thereon in the open air. The young king, extremely pleased with his gallantry, ordered him an hundred pieces of gold, and recommended him to the Duke of Orleans as one of the bravest men in his army.

I swear by the whistling of the winds, and the rustling of the leaves, that I honour such virtue even in an infidel.

Paris, 20th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1646.

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V.—*To KERKER HASSAN, Bassa.*

THY letter is come to my hands, with the present of kepha, which is so much the more acceptable, because thou broughtest it thyself from the valley of Admoim, the place of my nativity. It is an evident sign that thou hast not forgot thy countryman, in that thou condescendest to oblige him in so peculiar a manner. The place where we drew our first breath is always dear to mortals; and the remembrance of that delicious vale affects Mahmut with singular delight. It is true indeed I was brought from thence before I could distinguish one place from another; but I have visited that region since, and have reason to pronounce it the most delectable part of Arabia. Had the Grecian poets seen that paradise, they would not have so extolled the celebrated fields of Tempe in

Theffaly. This happy vale is the elyſium of the world, bleſſed with an eternal ſpring.

Thou art highly obliged to the ſultan for the liberty he has given thee to viſit the place of thy cradle, and to ſojourn ſo long among thy kindred. Thy father was famous in that country for hunting of lions, and other beaſts of prey. I have heard ſome of our tribe praiſe his valour and dexterity in the chace of thoſe fierce animals. They told me, that in the ſpace of two years he had preſented the Beglerbeg with twenty lions heads killed by his own hand; that he had three tame ones in his houſe, which he had taken when whelps from a lion-eſs of prodigious bulk; that the walls of his houſe were hung with the ſkins of tigers, panthers and lions, the trophies of his indefatigable diligence, ſkill, and courage, in purſuit of wild beaſts. In a word, they ſaid he was the moſt ſucceſſful hunter in all Arabia. If thou inheritſt his inclinations as well as his blood (for they commonly go together), thou haſt had a fair time to range the foreſts, and purge the deſart of thoſe ravenous creatures. Were it not for the enmity of the gnats, the eaſt would be overrun with theſe ſavages. They ſay, this little deſpicable inſect deſtroys more lions than all the hunters in Aſia; for, ſwarming about them in the heat of ſummer, they chiefly faſten on their eye-lids, which they ſting ſo vehemently, that the lions, thinking to eaſe themſelves by ſcratching, often tear their own eyes out, and ſo are famiſhed.

To underſtand well the different natures of beaſts, is a ſtudy fit for kings. It was the glory of Solomon, to be accurate in this knowledge; and Alexander the Great had ſuch an eſteem for it, that he beſtowed on Ariſtotle the philoſopher eight hundred talents, only for writing a treatiſe of animals. Our Holy Prophet was eminent a-

bove all other mortals, for his familiarity with the brutal generations, understanding their qualities and language, and often discoursing with them. When he lived in the desert, a libard continually waited at the door of his cave, and did all the offices of a kind and faithful servant. Such grace is given but to a few.

But I forget my own opportunity of venting my affections to my country and my friends. I forget that I am writing to one who is newly come from Arabia. Would to God I could see thee, were it but for an hour: I have a thousand questions to ask about my relations; and what changes have happened since I was there.

But I must sacrifice these natural fondnesses to the will of destiny. I am a double exile; and since it is for the service of the Grand Signior, I am resigned.

Adieu, happy minister; and if Malimut may be admitted sometimes to mingle with the train of thy better thoughts, he shall count himself happy wherever he is.

Paris, 2d. of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1646.

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## VI.—*To HUSSEIN, Bassa.*

THE taking of Retimo in Candy, has filled the Nazarenes with apprehensions of greater calamities.

The first fortunate strokes in a war, make deep impressions on the enemy, the vulgar looking on them as the index of their future destiny. But repeated successes chill their vitals, bereave them of courage and hope, leaving them nothing but ominous portents, and superstitious presages of their approaching ruin. So hard a thing it is to judge of human events, without being carried into extremes. They already give over the whole island for lost. I wish and believe it may prove true.



Yet at the same time I know the fortune of war is uncertain, and another campaign may repair or revenge the damage they have sustained in this and the former.

The Venetians lost five thousand men before the walls of that town, among whom was General Cornaro, the viceroy of the island, slain in the first onset, besides what were killed by our soldiers when they entered with the retreating Candiots, and sacrificed all to the heat of martial passion.

But that which appeared most ominous to their cause, though the present damage were less, was the falling out of the *sopraveditore*, and the *proveditor* of the isle, who not agreeing about the extent of their different commissions, formed two parties, between whom there happened a furious encounter, in which four hundred were slain on both sides.

These sinister events occasioned the republic to make fresh applications to the court of France; and an ambassador is sent from this crown to Constantinople, in order to mediate a peace. They call him Monsieur de Varennes, a man of a presumptuous disposition, and who delights to attempt difficult things. When there could not be found a person willing to undertake a negotiation which carries so little probability of succeeding, this gentleman, in a bravado offered himself; telling the queen, that he made no doubt of so representing matters to the Grand Signior, as would infallibly produce a peace.

It had been easy for Cardinal Mazarini (whose counsel the queen follows in all things) to have hindered this man's voyage. But those who are acquainted with the pique that is between them, conclude, that the cardinal consented to his commission, on purpose to lay a train for his future disgrace; as knowing the boldness of his temper was far from being seconded with equal wisdom

and conduct; and that, though he was prone to undertake great and hazardous actions, yet he never had the good fortune to accomplish any thing of moment.

They that know this gentleman's character, say, that any example will encourage him to rush into labyrinths and perils; and where examples are wanting, he is ambitious to be made one himself. He fears not to tread in the footsteps of such as have miscarried in the most desperate enterprizes; but promises himself success, where a thousand have failed. In fine, he is esteemed the rashest man living.

I send thee this description of the French ambassador, that thou mayest communicate it to the sovereign divan. It will be no small advantage to know the temper and qualifications of foreign ministers residing at the august Porte, especially at this juncture, whereon the fate of Christendom depends. Besides, there cannot be too great caution used to obviate the subtle trains of Cardinal Mazarini, who, I fear, is contriving no kind offices to the Ottoman empire.

I kiss the hem of thy vest, illustrious bassa, and bid thee adieu.

Paris, 2d of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1646.

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VII.—*To the same.*

THE captain bassa has the reputation of a good seaman among the French. They highly applaud his expeditious relief of Canea, and no less commend the secrecy with which he landed his army, and took the town of Retimo. The French are generally great critics in military affairs, and are not so partial to the honour of the Christians, as to deny the praises that are due to an ex-

pert leader among the mussulmans. Yet they are inconstant, and seldom retain the same sentiments long. Every circulation of their blood begets new friendships, new opinions, new censures. In this they seem to inherit the vices of the ancient Gauls, as well as their country.

A Roman emperor, who made war in this nation, has left excellent memoirs behind him; wherein, among other things, he describes the nature of the Gauls, their dispositions, and genial inclinations. He that shall read his writings, which were penned above sixteen hundred years ago, and shall converse with the present French, will easily conclude, that the latter are a living transcript of the former, and that their humours and actions are exactly copied from his words. Yet in nothing does the character of the primitive Gauls suit more truly to the present inhabitants, than in their furious onsets in a battle, and their equal readiness to flight. Their first assault seems to speak them more than men; their second, less than women; and they seldom venture on a third.

Wilt thou know then, how they obtain so many signal victories? It is by stratagems and money. Where they cannot circumvent their enemies, they corrupt a party of them with bribes and pensions. Thus they purchase their conquests with a more powerful metal than steel. The force of gold, to which all things yield, lays cities and provinces at the feet of this invincible monarch.

But I pray Heaven so to prosper the armies of the empire founded on virtue, that this infidel prince, and all the Nazarenes, may experience their gold to be as ineffectual as their swords, against the valour and just revenge of the true believers.

Paris, 2d of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1646.

VIII.—*To the Venerable MUFTI, Sovereign Guide of the True Believers.*

THOU, who art all goodness, the arch-type of clemency and virtue, wilt not number me among the importunate, for so often troubling thee with disputes of our holy law. I ask thee no common questions, neither am I captious, seeking occasions to darken what is apparent, or invalidate the testimony of him who touched the hand of God. I revere the holy oracles, and the book not dictated on earth. Every chapter I read in the Alcoran, makes me bless the angel who took so many flights to bring down the sacred pages from heaven; and my reverence is increased towards that volume of glory, when I consider it was not hastily composed, every versicle being the product of divine premeditation. Doubtless it excels all the writings in the world. No scripture, before or since, has approached to the mysterious elegance of those celestial lines. Yet methinks I find a great profundity of wisdom in the treatises of the ancients.

Thou wilt say, my station requires me to read men more than books, being not sent hither to contemplate, but to act for the interest of my master and the Ottoman empire. It is true, my business is now to unravel the designs of the infidels; but bear with me, if I tell thee, that in order to this I took no wrong course, when in my younger years I applied myself to books, which are but men turned inside out, or metamorphosed into letters; against whom, thus surviving themselves, the stroke of death cannot prevail.

Those who have erected statues of gold, silver, brass, or marble, to the memory of departed heroes, can but transmit the effigies of their bodies to posterity, which thou knowest is the ignobler part of man; and herein

they come short of the Egyptians, who have the art of preserving the bodies themselves incorruptible for a thousand generations. But they who left their writings to posterity, have obliged the world with an immortal and lively image of their mind : this is properly the man, and lives for ever, when the body is consumed in the grave, and the statue perhaps is eat up by time, or demolished by envy.

Pardon this digression, oraculous and unerring mouth of God. I have a great deal to say, and cannot comprehend it in a few words. It has been enjoined by our holy doctors, that a Mussulman should not read the books of profane infidels. But tell me, thou who art the resolver of doubts, whether this precept is extended to all without exception, or whether a dispensation may not be allowed to such as read those books with one eye, whilst the other is fixed on the law, which balances the mind with truth ? The Alcoran tells us, that the devil has inserted some falsities in the best writings ; but, is it not possible for a man to separate the good from the bad ? I read in the book of glory many remarkable things concerning Alexander the Great : But is it unlawful also to peruse what has been writ by others, of the life of that famous warrior, and holy prophet ? Both Grecian and Roman historians have related his adventures in Asia, his battles with Darius the Persian monarch, and Porus the Indian : they praise his continence and modest regard to Syfigambis and her daughters, when they were his captives ; his inviolable friendship to Ephestion, whilst living, and the affectionate tears he shed for him after his death ; yet they condemn him of cruel ingratitude, for sacrificing Clitus to his choler, and the fumes of wine, who was a faithful friend, a valiant soldier, and once had saved his life in a battle. They cannot pass over the burning of



Persepolis, without some reflections on the unmanly softness of this warrior, who, to please his concubine, gave orders that the fairest and most magnificent city in Asia should be set on fire. The Persians boast, that that city was built all of cedar; that Cyrus had wholly displanted, not only Mount Libanus, but the choicest nurseries of that fragrant wood, through all Asia, to build this glorious city, in emulation of Solomon king of the Jews, who was by other princes thought to value himself too high, for building the temple of Jerusalem of the same materials. They add, that Alexander found in this city ninety millions of caracks in gold; that, after the debauch was over, and the flames had consumed to ashes this phoenix of Asia, the conqueror wept, and commanded the money he had found there should be expended in raising another in its room, more glorious than the former; but that Thais, who had persuaded him to ruin it, was the only obstacle to its re-edification; for such was her empire over this monarch, that he could deny her nothing.

What I have said of Persepolis is recorded by Persian historians; other writers make some mention of it, but not so particularly. There are some also who mention his demolishing of Tyrus, a city so ancient, that it is said to be first built by one of the grandchildren to Noah, of whom thou knowest the Alcoran speaks often. They tax him also with cruelty, in causing two thousand of the chief Tyrians to be crucified as a sacrifice to Hercules. Thou art best able to judge whether this be agreeable to truth; for what Mussulman will believe, that the victorious prophet was guilty of so barbarous an idolatry?

The method he took to subdue this impregnable city is an argument of his invincible courage, and that there is nothing impracticable to a mind armed with resolution and perseverance.

Tyrus was situated above half a mile in the sea. When the Macedonian demanded a surrender, the citizens, trusting to the strength and height of the rock whereon they lived (for it was a perfect island), and to their distance from the shore of the continent, bid defiance to him, whom God had ordained to subdue all nations between the extremities of India and the pillars of Hercules. The conqueror, inflamed at their refusal of offered peace, prepares for an assault. He attempted, without the miracle of Moses, to make a path for his army through the Sea. He followed the steps of the Babylonian monarch, who, not three ages before, had joined this proud nest of merchants to the firm land. Twice his industrious soldiers raised a causeway above the waves to the very walls of Tyrus, and as often was their labour defeated by the watchful Tyrians; when the third time he proved successful, and, in spite of all their resistance by fire and sword, after a siege of six moons, he scaled the walls of that queen of maritime cities, and convinced the world, that no human force could put a stop to his conquests, whom Destiny had appointed to chastise the nations of the earth.

That chapter in the Alcoran which speaks of this renowned worthy, tells us, "That he marched so far eastward, till he came to a country where the sun rises." This passage the Christians ridicule, saying, that the sun rises and sets in all countries; and that there is no stated point of east and west in the fabric of the world, since the same place which is east of one country, is west of another. Thus the despisers of our holy law cavil at the Alcoran, and say, it is composed of old wives tales, a rude indigested collection of eastern romances and superstitious fables, calculated for the meridian of ignorance, first promulged in the savage and unpolished deserts of

Arabia, and afterwards propagated by the sword through those countries, whose vices had banished their learning, and rendered them flexible to a religion, whose highest pretensions consisted in gratifying the senses.

These critics consider not at the same time, that they argue against the Old and New Testament (which is esteemed the Alcoran of the Christians), wherein there is often mention made of the rising and going down of the sun, of east and west, as proper points or marks from which to take the situation of countries. Assuredly in this they are captious; for though there be no stated point of east or west in the globe, yet India being the nearest region of this continent to that part of the horizon where the sun daily first appears, it has, not without reason, gained the additional epithet of East. And it was here the Macedonian hero sweated, because he could conquer no farther, unless he would have begun a war with the fish of the sea.

There are many other passages related of Alexander's temperance, moderation, justice, fortitude, and such like virtues, and something of his vices; but I will not tire thee with all that is said of this invincible monarch, nor trace him in all his marches through Asia. I will not trouble thee with what they say of his journey into Egypt, and aspiring to be called the son of Jupiter Ammon; his being poisoned at Babylon, in the height of all his triumphs; and the cantonising his empire among his chief captains. Whatsoever in these histories is agreeable to the holy Alcoran, I acquiesce to; what is repugnant to that summary of truth, I reject as a fable.

Tell me, thou sovereign resolver of doubts, whether on these terms I may not read the writings of infidels? Books are relief to the mind oppressed with melancholy, and especially histories, which also bring profit, by right,

ly informing us of the transactions of past ages ; so that things which were done thousands of years ago, are made present to us. Where then is the crime in reading these memoirs of the ancients ? Is it not consistent with the faith of a mussulman to read these histories, because they were penned by heathens ? Must we reject all that the Pagans did or said ? Why then are the works of Plutarch had in such veneration by the princes of our law ? I tell thee, I not only read Plutarch, Livy, Tacitus, Xenophon, Polybius, with many other historians that were pagans, but I improve by their writings. Such rare examples of virtue, such illustrious patterns of justice, such solid precepts of morality, as these authors abound with, cannot in my opinion hurt any man, who desires to square his life by the best rules.

I read also the poets, whose fables and parables seem to me but to veil many excellent and profitable maxims of human life.

The story of the birth of Typhon, his warring with Jupiter, and his final overthrow, denotes the monstrous rise of factions in a state, and their ruin.

The Cyclops being employed by Jupiter in making thunderbolts and killing Æsculapius, for which they themselves were afterwards slain by Apollo, intimates the use which sovereign princes make of cruel, covetous, and unjust officers, who, when they have fulfilled the pleasure of their masters, are abandoned by them to the revenge of the oppressed subjects. This is commonly experienced in all monarchies, and especially in the mighty empire of the Osmans, where the bassas, though the Grand Signior, for the ends of state, connives a while at their unjust oppression of the mussulmans under their government, yet in due time, to show his abhorrence of their villanies, consigns them over to the executioner.

Thou knowest to whom the bowstring was sent last ; I wish his successor may not equally merit it.

Actæon's being devoured by his dogs, only for seeing Diana in a bath, might have served as a warning to Useph the black eunuch, who could not restrain his tongue from babbling out the private amours of Sultan Ibrahim. It was danger enough to know the secret ; but to divulge it, was a sure way to incur the revenge of the prince.

Not much unlike was his error, who, though he did not report it to others, yet had the presumption to check his sovereign to his face, and reproach him with luxury. Had he been acquainted with the fable of Endymion and the moon, it would perhaps have taught him, that it is not the part of a favourite to take notice of his master's stolen pleasures, but rather to invite him sometimes from the toils of state, and unbend his mind with recreations.

There are many other profitable remarks hidden under the fictions of the poets, which, though they may seem mysterious at first view, yet, being examined with a little attention, prove as easy to be understood, as the hieroglyphics were of old to the Egyptians, who knew no other letters.

God the first Intellect, who imprinted his mind on tablets of marble, in letters of Arabic, and writ the decalogue with a beam of his glory, having also inspired all nations with the knowledge of letters, grant, that whilst I read the records of the Gentiles, I may not forget the precepts of the Alcoran.

Paris, 23d of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1646.



IX.—*To MURAT, Bassa.*

A COURIER came to this city last night, bringing news of the taking of Courtray by the French army. This is a considerable town in Flanders, and commands a great part of the country. The Duke of Orleans invested it on the ninth of the last moon, and on the eighteenth lay down before it with the whole army. The Spanish generals hastened to its relief, and brought thirty thousand men of six nations, to combat with the French; but they quarrelled about precedence of post. High words passed between the Duke of Lorraine and General Lamboy. Thus, while they spent their time in needless contests, the French took the town; and, having left a strong garrison there, part of the army commanded by the Marechal de Grammont is marched to join the Hollanders, with design to attack Antwerp; and the rest follow the Duke of Orleans, who, they say, intends to besiege Mardyke. This is a sea-town that has nothing in it considerable enough to tempt a conqueror, save the haven, which is of great importance in those seas.

We have had no rains here these three moons, which makes the people fear a famine. Provision of all sorts is very dear; and those who have great quantities of corn will not bring it to the markets. The fruits are all blasted, and a distemper rages in the city, which fills all places with death and mourning; the cattle drop down dead in the fields, and the rivers are almost dried up; men languish and wither, as if parched up by some inward fire; fearful apparitions are seen in the air; each night brings forth new prodigies; the people lament the present, and presage greater calamities to come;—while Mahmut perseveres unmoved, and neither molests himself nor others about the inevitable decrees of destiny. I keep in the

path of my duty, without turning to the right hand or to the left; I serve the Grand Signior faithfully; I pray for his health, and for the welfare of the empire. I neither give alms to the infidels, nor do them any injuries. In fine, if I cannot reap any profit from other mens virtues, I take care their vices shall do me no harm.

It is said there will be a procession here shortly, whereat the king, the queen-regent, and the whole court, will assist barefoot, for an example of others. The body of a certain female saint, whom they esteem the patroness of this city, will be taken out of the church where it lies, and will be carried with other reliques of saints through the streets of Paris, to atone the wrath of Heaven, which seems to be kindled against them.

In the mean time, I pray Heaven to send down its blessings on the Ottoman empire, and preserve the true faithful from the three scourges of God.

Paris, 23d of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1646.

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*X.—To the AGA of the Janissaries.*

I PERCEIVE thou hast followed the advice I formerly gave thee to read histories, wherein thy letter speaks thee very conversant. Thou wilt have no reason to repent of a labour that affords so agreeable a diversion, especially to a soldier and a statesman. They open the graves, and call forth the dead, without disturbing their repose, and present to us those heroes living, talking, and acting great things, whose bodies have lain buried in silence and obscurity many ages; they introduce us into the closets of princes, revealing their most secret counsels; they make us familiar with the intrigues of politicians, and the stratagems of warriors. In fine, there is nothing public

or private, in the courts or camps of the greatest monarchs, to which an historian is a stranger.

I applaud the choice thou hast made of Grecian histories, and others of the east; yet I counsel thee not to neglect those of the west. The ancient Roman writers are full of rare examples; and modern France, which emulates all great and glorious undertakings, takes equal care to commit to posterity the lives of illustrious persons. I say not this in contempt of other countries in Europe. The Christians of these parts in general are accurate historians. They are universally learned, in regard there is no kingdom in Europe where they have not schools and academies where all languages and sciences are taught. The ploughmen in the field speak Latin and Greek, which thou knowest are now grown obsolete, and nowhere to be learned but in books. The mechanics are philosophers; and every man sets up for an historian, or an antiquary. It was not so in former times, when the ecclesiastics had engrossed all manner of learning to themselves, except some few of the nobility and gentry, who had the advantage of patrimonial libraries, and leisure to apply themselves to study; for then it was difficult to purchase books, there being but few, and for those they were obliged to the labour of the scribe. Hence it came to pass, that only such as had plenty of money, and a strong inclination to knowledge, monopolized the choicest manuscripts into their hands, and bequeathed them as a legacy to their offspring. But since the invention of printing, books are infinitely multiplied, grown cheap and common; and those histories and sciences, which before were shut up in the Latin, Greek, or some of the Oriental languages, are now translated into the vulgar speech of every nation, whereby the lowest sort of people, who can but read, have the privilege to become as

knowing as their superiors, and the slave may vie for learning with his sovereign. This makes the Nazarenes upbraid the true faithful with ignorance and barbarism, because printing is not suffered throughout the muslim empire. They consider not the bad consequences of this art, as well as the good, and that the liberty of the press has filled the world with errors and lies. Besides, they are strangers to the education of the muslims, who are generally taught the Arabic and Persian tongues from their childhood; in which two languages how many famous histories have been written! There is no point of useful wisdom which is not comprised in the writings of the eastern sages; and as for unprofitable treatises and pamphlets with which the Europeans abound, they are superfluous and burdensome, bringing a double loss both to writer and reader, while they rob them of their time and money, and commit a rape on their understandings. Add to this, the fatal effects which this depraved indulgence of printing has produced in Christendom. What sacrileges, massacres, rebellions and impieties, have overflowed most parts of the west in this licentious age; what hatred among Christians; what seditions among subjects, diversities in religion, contempts of all laws, both divine, natural, and those of nations. The vices, at which former times would have blushed, nay, at the very naming of which our fathers would have started, as at a prodigy, are in these days committed openly, without shame, without contradiction; whilst there are authors who dare publicly assert the cause of impiety, and patronize all manner of profanations.

But thou, who hast the honour to guard the incorruptible seat of justice and virtue, the bright throne of the Osman emperors, who are the shadows of God on earth, hast made such a choice of books as commends thy

wisdom, and the sincerity of thy morals. Thou wilt not suffer thy imagination to be tainted with those enchanting ideas of evil, which are drawn by the pens of some elegant writers : All that thou seekest in books is to inform thy understanding, rectify thy judgment, and inflame thy affections with the love of virtue. To this end serve the divine precepts of our holy doctors, and other learned sages ; the writings of philosophers, and the examples of renowned heroes. From these thou gatherest strength to practise the four maternal virtues, and all the good qualities that spring from those roots.

Go on, and increase in the graces and accomplishments which shall render thee worthy to be made the subject of a particular history ; while the old shall recommend, and the young shall covet nothing more passionately than to read the life of Cassim Hali janizar-aga.

Mahmut salutes thee with a kiss of affection. Reverence thyself, and all men will honour thee. So taught Pythagoras.

Paris, 17th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1646.

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XI.—*To the same.*

I HAD forgot to perform in my other letter what thou commandest me ; yet knowing the esteem thou hast for women of virtue and rare endowments, and with what pleasure thou readest their stories, I should never send any dispatch to thee wherein there is not a relation of some heroine. I will be more diligent hereafter to observe the disposition of my superiors, and will endeavour to procure a collection of the lives and characters of all the famous women that have been recorded in history. In the



mean while, hear what the French say of Christina Queen of Swedeland, of whom thou requirest a description.

She is the only daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, the most victorious prince that ever governed that nation, and one of the most successful warriors in the world. As his whole life was led in the field, so there he received an honourable death, being slain in the battle of Lutzen; some say, by the treachery of Duke Albert, who had in appearance deserted the emperor, and offered himself a volunteer to Gustavus Adolphus. I formerly mentioned this duke, and that he was killed by a Swedish lady. If the suspicion of the Swedes be well grounded, and that Duke Albert was really guilty of the murder of Gustavus, it may be this was the motive which brought those Amazons into the field to revenge the death of their prince. But it is impossible to be assured of the truth among so many different opinions.

When the French speak of Gustavus Adolphus, they cannot restrain their words on this side a panegyric. They say he was a prince above all praise. It is certain, his very enemies admired his inimitable courage and matchless fortune. I have sent thee the true effigies of his face, wherein thou wilt see a most agreeable mixture of majesty and benignity, creating respect and love at the same time in the beholders. He was so familiar with every one, as if he had forgot himself, as well as he was a stranger to pride. He was a great student in his youth, and made himself master of Latin, French, and Italian; being also perfectly skilled in ancient and modern histories. He had a wonderful faculty in discovering impostors; a dexterous wit in time of danger and difficulty, being ready at counsel, and swift in execution, and as cunning at a stratagem as he was bold at an onset. He was liberal to his officers, and to all men of merit; but

a severe punisher of disorders in his army; and that which crowned all the rest of his virtues, his piety to God was singular and worthy of remark. The French relate a memorable saying of this king, when he was once in his camp before Weissen. He had been solitary in the cabinet of his pavilion some hours together, and none of his attendants durst interrupt him; till at length a favourite of his, having some important matter to tell him, came softly to the door, and looking in, beheld the king very devoutly on his knees at prayers. Fearing to molest him in that sacred exercise, he was about to withdraw his head, when the king spied him, and bid him come in, saying unto him, "Thou wonderest to see me in this posture, since I have so many thousands of subjects to pray for me. But I tell thee, that no man has more need to pray for himself, than he, who being to render an account of his actions to none but God, is for that reason more closely assaulted by the devil, than all other men beside."

Gustavus was born in the year 1594, at which time they say, a comet was seen in the form of a sword, with its point directed toward Germany, which the astrologers of those times interpreted as a presage of that king's warlike genius, and of his future conquests in the empire. He came to the government before he had seen full seventeen winters, and was cut off in the eight-and-thirtieth year of his age.

It is said, that a few days before his death, when his soldiers received him with infinite acclamations, and all the marks of an unusual and intemperate joy, he seemed to be troubled at it, saying, "That he took that excessive demonstration of his soldiers love, for an omen of some approaching disaster; and that he was assured God

would, by taking him away, teach them, that there is no confidence to be reposed in any mortal.

After the death of Gustavus, the states of the kingdom assembling, proclaimed Christina queen, and during her minority committed her to the tutelage of five principal officers of the kingdom, who also took on them the whole care of the commonwealth.

She is perfect in seven languages, well versed in ancient and modern philosophy, and a complete historian. In fine, she has acquired the title of the most learned princess of her time.

She is of a graceful and majestic aspect, has a piercing eye, wears part of her hair loose about her temples, and flowing down in curls to her shoulders; the rest braided up behind in form of a wreath. Thus is she represented by her picture, which I have seen in a gallery of Cardinal Mazarini's palace, who professes a great veneration for this queen. Could I have purchased her portraiture, as I did her father's, I would have sent it thee; but all the pencils in Paris are hardly sufficient to supply the closets and galleries of the nobles with this admired figure. She is become the idol of the French.

Many great matches have been offered her, but she refuses all, either for reason of state, or dislike of the persons, or an aversion she has for a married life; or through opposition of her nobles, who seem to covet to be governed by a maiden queen. Soon after her father's death, the King of Denmark attempted to make her his wife; but his address was abruptly rejected.

No, better encouragement did the King of Poland lately meet with, who twice solicited the same thing for himself, and was as often repulsed. But this, it is thought, proceeded from some politic reasons, he being descended of Sigismund, a former abdicated king of

Sweden ; all whose posterity are for ever excluded from enjoying the Swedish crown by a law.

The English also gloried in a virgin queen the last age ; her name was Elizabeth, whom thou canst not but have heard of. She was the daughter of Henry VIII. king of that nation. She was a princess of an extraordinary genius, remarkable for her wit and learning. It was one of her subjects, who the first of all mortals sailed round the globe ; and by his fortunate service, she vanquished the reputed invincible Armada of Spain. She governed her kingdom with such exquisite conduct, as made the greatest potentates revere her wisdom. It is to her bounty the United Provinces owe the rise of their present grandeur and riches ; when they addressed this potent queen in form of humble suppliants, intitling themselves, “ The Poor Distressed States.” But now they are high and mighty, pushing for an equality with sovereign princes.

I cannot comprise in a letter all that may be said of this great queen. Besides, historians vary in her character. Those that speak most impartially, say, that she had extraordinary virtues, yet was not free from great vices. We must not expect in any mortal a temper exempt from the common malediction, much less in that sex, whose natural weakness claims our indulgence and excuse. It is admirable to see or hear of a female, whose active soul can disengage itself from the common frailties of women, and perform things scarce below the power of masculine virtue.

If thou thinkest my letter too tedious, accuse thyself for commanding me to write of persons whose uncommon gifts and transcendent virtues, the most accurate historians can but render in epitome, and the most dur-

able records of fame will injure, in not being capable to transmit them to eternity.

We ought not to condemn the excellencies of the Nazarenes, who, though they are unhappy in not knowing the Alcoran, yet they have a law engraven on their hearts, which, if they observe, they shall be in the number of the blessed.

I am no stranger to thy moderation and justice, being fully satisfied that thou honourest virtue, even in the most prejudiced enemy of our holy profession. Let the furios among the mussulmans or Christians say their pleasure; thou and I shall be conformable to our holy law-giver, in believing, that the innocent and good of all religions shall have no reason to tremble at the second sound of the trumpet.

Paris, 17th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1646.

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XII.—*To the SELICTAR ACA, or Sword-Bearer to the Grand Signior.*

THE Duke of Orleans is newly returned from the campaign in Flanders. He seems to be either tired with the fatigues of war, or at least to be satisfied with his exploits this summer.

After the conquest of Courtray, of which thou hast heard in the divan, this prince marched directly to Bergues, which he took after a siege of six days; then being joined by the Duke of Enguien's forces, he lay down before Mardyke. This town had been in the Spaniards possession ever since last winter; now it held out to a miracle; but after a stout resistance was at last forced to surrender. There were slain before it many of the chief



nobility of France. The French entered it on the four-and-twentieth of the last moon.

The churches here are hung with mourning, and the escutcheons of the heroes who lost their lives in the bed of honour. The bullets, which know no difference between the noble and vulgar, seem in this battle to have been directed by art or envy, as if the flower of the army had been culled out for marks.

In a letter to Murat Bassa, I gave an account of a grievous drought and mortality in these parts. Now Heaven seems to be pacified ; and the angel of death has put up his sword. Yet the scarcity of corn, and other necessaries, continues still ; only there is plenty of wine, which the poor, who have most need of it, abstain from, lest it should enrage their appetites, already sharpened with hunger, whilst they have little or nothing to eat.

Thou wilt wonder at the diet of those miserable wretches, whom oppression and poverty has forced to feed on frogs and other vermin ; yet they extol it for a dainty dish. Both poor and rich reckon it a feast when they can make an addition of a few mushrooms, which they commonly gather themselves. This is a vegetable, of which the Italian proverb says, “ Mushrooms, well pickled with spices, may do no harm, but can do no good.”

God, who has commanded us to separate the clean from the impure, and has taught us what we may eat without pollution, grant, that we may not, either through necessity, or to indulge our appetites, taste of any thing which has in it the least of the seven maledictions.

Paris, 14th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1646.

XIII.—*To ABUBECHIR HALI, Merchant in Aleppo.*

THOU tellest me a tragical story of one of thy wives, that she is become a fugitive, and gone away with thy slave Lorenzo, whom I remember to have seen at thy house at Constantinople. Either thou wert too unkind to them both, or gavest them both too much liberty: whichever of these ways thou hast exceeded, thou art in the fault. Too great an indulgence, either to a wife or a servant, makes them presumptuous; and too great severity hardens them to despair. However, since it is so, I advise thee to comfort thyself with this thought, that thou art rid of two evils. Had they proved faithful, they would not have merited that title; but now they are neither worthy of thy grief, nor of thy revenge.

But if thou art resolved to pursue them, ask not my counsel or assistance in this place, where I should have as much reason to apprehend danger as they. It is true I know thy slave; but were I to meet him in the streets of this city, I should be very unwilling, by discovering him, to be made known myself. Besides, thy passion has made thee forget that the Nazarenes would commend his wit, and rejoice in his fortune, who being a slave to one whom they esteem an infidel, has now, by his wise conduct, purchased both his liberty and a beautiful mate, with no small treasure.

I rather advise thee to apply thyself to Jasmir Sgire Rugial, the little astrologer in Aleppo, who perhaps may tell thee some news of them. There is not a star in the eighth sphere can stir without his being privy to it; and he pretends to behold in their motions whatever is done on earth.

But to be serious, thy slave was an ungrateful fellow

thus to abuse all thy favours. Thou hadst made him in a manner master of all thy riches, only reserving thy wives to thyself; and if the desire of liberty tempted him to escape, he ought in justice to have sacrificed his lust to the regards he owed thee. But every slave is not a Joseph. Lorenzo's villany puts me in mind of the continence of an Italian marquis.

This young lord fell in love with a duchess of singular beauty, but knew not how to make her sensible of it. At length fortune favoured him with an opportunity beyond his expectation. One evening, as he returned from hawking, he passed through the fields of that duchess, bordering on the palace. The duke her husband and she were walking together as the young lord came by. The duke seeing his train, and what game they had been at, asked him some questions concerning their sport, and being of an hospitable disposition, invited him into his palace to take a collation. Nothing could be more agreeable to the young lover. He accepted the offer; and here commenced an acquaintance which made way in time for an assignation between the duchess and him. He was let into the gardens one night, and so conducted privately to her chamber, where she lay ready in bed to receive him. After some compliments, the duchess said, "My lord, you are obliged to my husband for this favour, who, as soon as you were gone from our house, the first time we saw you, gave you such commendations as made me conceive an immediate passion for you."—"Is it true, Madam? (replied the young lover, already half undressed), then far be it from me to be so ungrateful to my friend." With that he put on his garments again, and took his leave.

But it cannot be expected that so much virtue should

be found in a slave. I would not have thee vex thyself for what cannot be recovered. Adieu.

Paris, 14th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1646.

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XIV.—*To SOLYMAN his Cousin.*

I CANNOT approve thy singularity, in prescribing to thyself a rule of life different from that wherein thou wert educated, and from the laudable manners of all true believers. Thou hast not done well in deserting the public congregations of the faithful, to follow the superstitions of new upstart sects, who, whilst they profess greater purity than others, do secretly undermine the credit of our holy lawgiver, reproach all the mussulmans throughout the world, and introduce libertinism, and a contempt of the majesty which cannot behold uncleanness.

Are they wiser than their fathers, who for so many ages have obeyed the sacred traditions? Or will they pretend to correct the messenger of God? He commanded us to observe the purifications taught by the angel.—Whence do these innovators derive their new-founded authority of dispensing with the positive injunctions of Heaven? Will they enter into the blasphemy of the infidels, and say, the Prophet was a seducer, and that the Alcoran is but a collection of fables? If they believe the pages replenished with truth and reason, why do they seek to retrench the divine commandments, and traverse the law transported from Heaven? Is it an argument of their piety, that they carve out to themselves such a religion as suits with their licentious spirits? and that they pick and choose such precepts as indulge them most in a careless life? Is this to be mussulmans, that is, resigned,

when they will not obey the sovereign lawgiver of heaven and earth, but upon their own conditions? Cousin, I counsel thee to beware of these schismatics, who, by breaking the union of the true believers, secretly oppose the eternal unity itself, on which our mighty empire is founded, and rests.

I am obliged to the post, who waits at my door till I have finished my dispatches ; therefore I cannot now answer thy letter at large : another time expect a more ample expostulation. Meanwhile, I advise thee to return to the practice from which thou art fallen : Go to the assemblies of those who pour out devout orisons : keep a clean skin, and a pure heart, and make not thyself a companion of swine.

Paris, 24th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1646. -

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XV.—*To HASNADAR BASSY, Chief Treasurer to the Grand Signior.*

THIS day Paris makes a figure like ancient Rome, when that mistress of the world honoured her generals with public triumphs, at their return from the conquered nations. The streets are hung with tapestry, and strewed with laurels ; the shops are shut up ; the young men and virgins are clothed in their best array ; they walk up and down in consorts, singing the Duke of Enguien's praise ; whilst the old and decrepid sit at their doors to see the hero make his entry, and rehearse the memoirs of their former years. With tears of joy they heap blessings on the victorious youth, as he rides along ; and, throwing their age and crutches by for a while, they consecrate the rest of the day to the public jubilee.



Wouldst thou know the occasion of all this joy ? It is to welcome this prince home from the successful toils of war ; for, let his courage and conduct be what it will, if he had made a fruitless campaign, his entertainment had been different : but Fortune has been propitious to him ; and the happy event of his arms crowns him with glory.

After the departure of the Duke of Orleans from the camp, the command of the whole army devolved on this general, whose fiery genius would not let him rest, till he had done something worthy of the character he aimed at.

His first attempt was on a place of no great strength, called Furnes, which he took with ease. Then he marched to Dunkirk, one of the strongest towns in Europe. There was in it at that time a garrison of five-and-twenty hundred foot, and three hundred horse, commanded by a nobleman of great valour ; I think they call him the Marquis de Leide. This governor did so many brave things in defence of this place, as even surpassed his own fame, and the expectations of others, though both were very great. Yet, at length, he was forced to yield to the courage and fortune of the young duke, and that at a time when the other Spanish generals were coming to his relief. The town was surrendered on the 7th of this moon ; and the duke, having left the necessary commands to the marshals his lieutenants, is come home to receive the acclamations of the people, the honour of a public triumph, and the particular caresses of the king, and the whole court. Amidst all this applause and glory, he must be content to stand the shock of envy, which always endeavours to lessen the reputation of the brave and heroic.

As for Mahmut, he neither envies nor admires the fading honours of mortality ; knowing, that when a man

is on the highest pinnacle of human glory, he stands uneasy, nor can he descend from thence but by a precipice.

Paris, 24th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1646.

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XVI.—*To IBRAHIM HALI CHEIK, a Man of the Law.*

IF it be a sign of a flourishing state when vices are suppressed, one would presage, that Paris is in a thriving condition. The governor of this city has newly published an edict, forbidding all stews and brothel-houses, under severe penalties, banishing all harlots, and such as, by the toleration of the government, have hitherto made a profession of whoredom, getting a livelihood by debauching the youth of the city. This appears a great novelty to the French, who in this matter have been permitted all along to live in an unbridled licentiousness. The lewder sort exclaim with open mouth against this unseasonable rigour (as they call it), and those who are ashamed to appear public advocates for harlots, yet privately murmur against their superiors, for retrenching a liberty, without which, they say, their lives would be uncomfortable.

They give a very favourable character of a whore, calling her, “A certain kind creature, born to mitigate the labours and soften the cares of human life.” They plead, that such women are necessary members of a commonwealth; whilst, with their caresses, they restrain libidinous youth from falling into greater enormities: That the state receives no small profit from the tribute which is levied on these houses of pleasure; and that therefore they have been, and are permitted in all countries: That the Holy Father himself tolerates an infinite number of them in Rome, which nevertheless has acquired the title

of the Holy City : That all the princes in Italy have followed his example, there being no other way to prevent adulteries, incests, and the vice which ought not to be named : That the state regarded not the morality or immorality of mens actions, any farther than they tended to the public welfare : And, in fine, that so vast a number of priests, and religious, served for no other end but to atone by their sacrifices, prayers, alms, and fastings, for the sins of the people.

These are the discourses of such as patronise the corruption of government, and are unwilling to be weaned from a wickedness, established by immemorial custom in the city. But those who cherish an esteem for virtue, and an incorrupt life, applaud the wisdom and resolution of the magistrate, saying, that he deserves a statue to be erected to his memory, who first had the courage to check this popular evil, and introduce an integrity of manners.

I, who was bred in the profession of purity, and the law which admits no pollution, cannot but acquiesce to the sentiments of the latter ; our holy lawgiver having expressly forbidden the practice of uncleanness and fornication with strangers, and women that prostitute themselves to all lovers ; it being sufficient, that to gratify human passion, and to sweeten the toils of life, he has indulged us the use of four wives, and as many other females as we can purchase, either by the sword or money.

Adieu, sage Cheik ; and, if I have interrupted thy more important studies with so trivial a subject, believe, that it is for want of a proper occasion to signify to thee how much thou art in my thoughts ; and that I would not have our friendship die through too long silence.

Paris, 24th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1646.

XVII.—*To MUSTAPHA, Bassa of Silistria.*

THE fortune of war has ravished Asac from the Grand Signior, but has not robbed thee of the glory thou acquiredst three years ago in the conquest of that city, nor sullied thy present arms with any marks of disgrace, that were of late so vigorously employed to relieve it. Had the Muscovites performed the same part, when thou didst encircle that nest of pirates with the Ottoman forces, as they have now done, the Cossacks would not then so tamely have abandoned their native seat, and left the characters of their despair imprinted in the ruins of their habitations. The protection of that potent crown has given them new vigour; and it is to the valour of those northern savages they owe the liberty they now enjoy, to sit by their own fires.

The Muscovites are a fierce and warlike nation, inured to hardships from the womb. The midwives plunge the new born infants in cold water; and if they outlive not that trial, the mother thinks her child not worth a tear. The women have no partial tenderneesses for their babes, but cherish all for the service of their country; they teach them when young, to roll in snow, and bathe themselves in ice dissolved to water; they make them familiar with the extremities of heat and cold, hunger, thirst and labour, that when they come of age, and can bear arms, they may go boldly to the wars, and bravely throw their lives away to serve the public good. In this they seem to revive the wisdom of the ancient Spartans, who gloried in nothing so much as in educating their youth hardy, and free from the effeminate softneesses of other nations. They esteemed infancy and youth the spring-time of good manners, when virtue is in the blossom: If that be nipped or blasted, the fruit must prove

abortive and unprofitable ; therefore they took care to season their early years with wholesome instructions, and masculine exercises.

Who among the warlike Osmons does not laugh at the unmanly education of the Persian Sophis, who being for so many years confined to the company and discipline of females, seem fitter to be made overseers of a nursery, than to ascend a throne.

But thou wilt say, I take large leaps from the north of Europe to one of the most southern tracts in Asia. I was discoursing of the Muscovites, and the assistance they afforded the Cossacks in recovering Asac ; I passed from thence to the manner of their education : Permit me now to divert thee with something peculiar and uncommon, in the character of the Russian women. I am acquainted with a gentleman in this city, who has travelled through all that part of Europe, and resided some years at Moscow. He says, the Russian wives think themselves not beloved by their husbands, unless they beat them every day. They take his correction as a mark of his favour and esteem. If these silly females are angry or peevish, he has no other way to court them into a better humour, but by stripes. This is the only convincing argument of his sovereignty over them, the demonstration of his manhood, the charm which fastens both their love and obedience.

He highly applauds the absolute resignation which the people show to their great duke, in that they pretend not to possess their estates and lives, but through his favour, and during his pleasure. He says, the succession of the Czars, or great dukes of Russia, was in former times determined after this manner : A great stone was placed in a large field belonging to the city of Moscow : When any Czar died, his sons, or the next of kin, were conduct-



ed into this field, and placed all at an equal distance from the stone ; then, at a certain signal given, they all ran together toward it ; and he that first reached it, so as to stand on the top of it, was established in the throne.

The reverence which these people pay to their prince, may in part be ascribed to his seldom appearing in person to them, and then surrounded with his boyars or nobles, in the most magnificent equipage that can be supposed proper to strike a terror and awe into his subjects, and cause them to honour him as little less than a god. The eyes of the vulgar are dazzled with so many splendours of silver, gold and jewels ; and when the great duke makes his solemn appearance, or cavalcade, they are almost ready to think, that heaven has descended to earth, to do them the honour of a visit. These are the arts of Russian policy, by which such an infinite number of people are charmed into an obedience to the sovereign. Doubtless the majesty of a king receives no small lustre from external ornaments, the multitude being captivated with whatsoever is gay and glittering. Yet our glorious Sultans scorn to borrow advantage from, or owe their grandeur to any thing but their exalted blood, and sublime, innate virtues.

But every nation have their peculiar customs, and distinct reasons of state. The constitution of all governments is not alike. The model of Lacedemonian policy would suit ill with Athens.

Thou whose education was in the royal Seraglio of the Osman emperors, that hast been instructed to imitate the bee, which sucks honey from every flower ; thou that knowest how to make a choice of good examples, and to reject the ill ; practice the valour of one nation, the prudence of another, the frugality of a third ; so shalt thou be consummate in virtue, and acquit thyself a good general.

Paris, 15th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1646.

XVIII.—*To SOLYMAN, KYZLAR AGA, Chief of the Black Eunuchs.*

I AM just now returned to my chamber, from the palace of the king. As I passed along the streets, I saw in every face the signatures of a profound sorrow, which seems to have diffused itself over their whole bodies ; for both the court and city have put on mourning for the death of Henry Bourbon, late prince of Conde.

He was not full sixty years of age, when he left this visible world to be new-born in a region utterly unknown to mortals. The French, not without reason, lament the loss of a man, who, to speak the least of him, buoyed up the domestic interest of this kingdom, which seemed otherwise inclining to totter. He was the balance which poised the different passions of the court and city, by his prudence and justice calming both into a peaceable mediocrity.

He was born some moons after his father's death, whom the most execrable method of murdering would not suffer to spin out those years which nature would have indulged him, being snatched away by poison.

Henry IV. so long as he remained without issue, fixed his eyes on this posthumous young prince, and gave him an education suitable to one whom fate had designed to be the heir of the crown. Yet afterwards jealousy cooled his affection, when the prince had married Charlotte the duke of Montmorency's daughter, whom Henry IV. loved to a degree of passion.

It is dangerous to have a sovereign prince one's rival in love. That match had well nigh ruined the young prince of Conde. He was forced to fly into Holland with his princess, and make that province the sanctuary of her honour. From thence he travelled through Ger-

many, and returned not to France till after the murder of Henry IV.

During the minority of Lewis XIII. he headed the factions, affecting to become popular. Were it not for this ambition, his life had been without blemish, and he might have blown out Diogenes's mid-day candle : but no man is free from fault. All the difference between the virtuous and vicious consists in this, that one commits fewer crimes than the other, and those not by intention or habit, but through the insuperable proclivity of nature. Every man has his genial vices, his constitutional errors ; and, though he may appear a saint in all things else, yet in these he will still be a sinner.

He suffered five years imprisonment in the Bastile, which is a place put to the same use as the Castle of the Seven Towers in Constantinople. The princess his wife was his companion all the time, and shared in his misfortunes as well as his prosperity.

During that tedious confinement, he became father of a daughter, who was afterwards married to the Duke of Longueville ; and, when he was set at liberty, he begot the Duke of Enguien, now Prince of Conde, and the Prince of Conti.

The French speak well of the departed prince. He was of a lively spirit, cheerful and affable in conversation, mixing daily recreations with his feverer business, regularly observing order in all his affairs. Yet they say he was covetous, having heaped up great treasures by a parsimony which none of that blood had ever before practised.

On his death-bed, he recommended two things to the practice of his son, the Duke of Enguien, " Never to revenge a private injury ;" and, " freely to hazard his life for the public good."

I chose to transmit to thee the news of this prince's death, with this brief account of his life, and character of his disposition, in regard thou hast seen him in Germany, and I remember to have heard thee speak in his praise.

Continue to love Mahmut, who is never forgetful to oblige his friends.

Paris, 15th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1646.

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XIX.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

THE posts from Catalonia came in last night laden with ill news from the army, which has been forced to decamp from before Lerida, leaving the greatest part of their artillery to the Spaniards. That place was always fatal to the French; yet the passion of the court vents itself on the Count de Harcourt, because he could not reverse the decrees of destiny. All his former meritorious actions seem now to be cancelled by this one disgrace, though it was unavoidable; so peevish are princes when their expectations are crossed. Some suspect him guilty of private correspondence; others tax him with cowardice. All this is during the heat of their resentments: the same persons, it may be, will change their censure, when they consider that he had lain before it seven moons, even till the trenches of his camp were filled with snow, and that his soldiers died of famine or cold; for the winter began to be insupportable, and the country was barren of all things necessary to sustain such an army. I cannot see wherein this general deserves reproach, unless it be a crime to be a man, and to have the command of such as are made of flesh and blood as well as he.

In Italy the French have taken Piombino and Porto Longone. This latter is the most important town in the Isle of Elbe, yet was not able to sustain above nineteen days siege.

They say there is a fountain in this island whose waters flow at the sun-rising, but in the evening are dried up. The superstitious have odd conceits of this fountain, relishing of the ancient pagan vanities; but the learned attribute it to natural causes. So the Jews tell of a river in the east that stands still on the seventh day of the week. This they adduce as a confirmation of their law, which commands them to rest from labours on the seventh day, because on that day God rested from forming the creatures of the world. They say also, that the satyrs and other monsters of the desert shun the light of the sun that day, hiding themselves in caverns of the earth, and cursing the Sabbath, because it surprised God before he had quite finished their forms; for which reason they are imperfect and monstrous to this day.

The Divine Unity, who is the root of all numbers, and has consecrated the number seven to many mysterious ends, grant, that neither thou nor I may forget the answers we must give to the seven questions of the porter of paradise.

Paris, 7th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1546.

#### XX.—To BAJAZET, *Bassa of Greece.*

It appears to me by evident symptoms, that there is some deep design a-foot in this court. The grandees assemble often, and sit late. Extraordinary couriers are sent out, and come in at all hours of the night. Strange reports are industriously spread about the city. Trading



is at a stand, the bankers reserved, and little money stirring, which makes the populace murmur. They complain of the times, as is usual in public discontents : The old discourage and incense the young, by making comparisons of this age and reign with the happy days of Henry the Great. They fill their ears with golden stories of former times ; and inspiring into them a love of the past, they equally introduce a hatred of the present government. These are the common artifices of faction ; and though none appears yet under any distinct name or title, yet it is easy to prognosticate from these preludes, that ere long the mask will be taken off, and sedition will show herself barefaced.

The other day a fellow run crying through the streets, God save the king, but the devil take the Italian. He was followed by a few, and those of the most contemptible. Yet no officer or magistrate in this city would cause him to be apprehended, or attempt to suppress the mutiny he was raising. The citizens smiled at his boldness, and money was brought him from unknown hands : The women blessed him as a prophet, and the virgins fell down before the altars on his behalf ; the temples were crowded with votaries, or rather with the fautors of this new sedition ; as if they strove to draw their gods into the cabal, and would make heaven itself abett their tumults. His train increased as he measured the streets ; till at length he was seized by the royal guards, the rabble dispersed, and all things restored to quiet. That night a double watch was kept throughout the city ; the fellow was strictly examined, and put to the rack ; yet no confession could be extorted from him, save, “ That the public good induced him to take this course ; that the tyranny and oppression which Cardinal Mazarini exercised were insupportable ; and that he was ready to sa-

crifice his life for the welfare of his country." He is condemned to the galleys during his life; and great endeavours are used to find out the authors of this novelty; for he is looked on but as an instrument set at work by some malcontents of higher quality, and the forerunner of some more formidable insurrection.

Proclamations are issued out to forbid all discourse of state matters; but the people spare not to whisper their sentiments.

The young king is taken ill, which augments the public jealousy: Men shake their heads, and look dejected as they walk along the streets. Some menace revenge with their furrowed brows, others speak openly that the kingdom is sold to strangers. A general consternation and disorder has seized all, while their fears prompt them daily to expect a change. To obviate the mischiefs which those popular passions threaten, soldiers are drawn from divers parts of the country by Mazarini's order, and by insensible companies quartered up and down Paris. Between these and the citizens there happen divers quarrels; frequent murders are committed; while the night, which covers all things with darkness, serves to shroud their mutual outrages and private revenges. Thus the public calamities are cherished: What will be the issue, time will evince.

In the mean while, the affairs of Germany and Sweden seem to be in a fair way of composition. Divers treaties are on foot in order to a general peace in Christendom. The ambassadors and deputies of the several contesting crowns have frequent conferences; but each party insists so vehemently on circumstantialia, that nothing but fruitless demurs conclude their meetings. France has a great stroke in all these affairs; and it is

grown to a proverb, "That Cardinal Mazarini carries all the courts of Europe in his bosom."

The Swedes treat like victors; and the Germans, though much enfeebled, yet cannot forget the majesty of the imperial sceptre. The Danes have an interest to prosecute, and the Poles are not without their pretensions. National pride and honour have a great influence on these crowns. But the Hollanders, like merchants, act according to the rules of profit: They stand on no punctilios, but such as advance their traffic, knowing that money is the nerves of war. In this they are to be esteemed wise, their commonwealth being as yet but in her nonage, her strength not knit, nor she in a capacity to wrestle with her potent neighbours.

England finds business enough at home to employ both her money, wit and arms; nor can she be at leisure to attend to foreign transactions.

Spain ever follows the interest of the German court, it being the unalterable maxim of the House of Austria, To remain united, and aggrandise itself.

Italy has various interests; and Venice, in particular, is in strict friendship with this court.

Portugal is still upon her guard against the restless Spaniards; and Don Juan de Braganza makes foreign alliances.

The Supreme Monarch of the visible and invisible worlds, who sits on the throne of Adamant, under the covert of the eternal tree, grant, that the distractions of these infidel princes and states may continue till the time appointed by fate shall come, wherein the faithful Osmons shall possess the red apple.

Paris, 25th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1646.

XXI.—*To PESTELI HALI, his Brother.*

I THOUGHT myself forgotten by the son of my mother, who has suffered so many decades of moons to measure out the term of his unkind silence, and of my melancholy. It is now three years since I heard from thee : But I will not complain of a fault so ingenuously expiated, though late. Thou hast made me ample amends in sending me such an elaborate and succinct history of thy travels ; in reading of which I know not whether my pleasure or profit is greater. Thou hast so interwoven delightful adventures of thy own, and pleasant passages of others, with curious and solid observations, that a man improves himself insensibly, whilst the charming language and miscellany serve as a spur at once to rouse and fasten his attention to points of most useful knowledge.

The Christians are apt to despise the true believers, as a company of ignorant people, unacquainted with the world, unpolished both in their understandings and manners, not versed in the liberal sciences, nor addicted to the study of any thing but riches and honour, and how to augment the Mussulman empire. They consider not at the same time, that God has made us rational creatures as well as them, has endued us with the same natural faculties, and that in all nations he has inspired some with a thirst of knowledge, furnishing them also with the abilities and means to attain it. They consider not, that if printing be prohibited among us, it is to suppress the multitude of unprofitable books, with which Europe too much abounds ; and that in their stead we have many thousands of industrious scribes, whose whole employment is to translate the most excellent and learned treatises of the ancients ; and that consequently, a studious Mahometan cannot be destitute of such books as may in-

struct him in true philosophy, sound morals, and history of the most memorable transactions in the world. Assuredly, our Arabia may boast of her Avicens, Mesues, Averroes, Halis, and Albumazars, and that she has brought forth many others who need not, in any point of human or divine learning, yield the palm to the most eminent doctors, philosophers, orators, and poets among the Christians.

Add to this the equal benefit some of our belief reap by travelling into foreign countries, which crowns all their studies with experimental knowledge and wisdom; rendering them as familiar with the different natures of men, and the various constitutions of government, as before they were with books.

This appears evident in thy letter, which is replenished with so many solid remarks, and sage comments on the laws and customs of the regions through which thou hast passed, their religions, strength, and riches, and whatsoever else was worthy a traveller's notice, that were this narrative published in Christendom, the Nazarenes would forbear to speak so contemptibly of the true believers.

But they flatter themselves with a false notion, that the Ottomans never travel beyond the limits of their own empire, except the public Chiauses, who are sent by the Grand Signior. They are ignorant that the august Porte maintains private agents in all nations, and that there is hardly any prince's court in Christendom without a mussulman in it one time or other. It is true, we appear not in the garb peculiar to the East. Our mission requires a conformity to the fashions of the people where we reside. But we will retain the interior vestment of Mahometan purity, being in a double sense circumcised. Thus we become masters of the Christians secrets, whilst



they account us stupid, ignorant, and men void of common sense.

Besides, had we not this advantage in these western parts, yet the universal privilege of travelling and maintaining free commerce over all the east, must needs afford great opportunities of accomplishment to some, among the caravans of so many thousands as visit Persia, India, China, Tartary, and all places where the faith of the missionary of God is professed.

I am extremely pleased with thy fortunate escapes from robbers on the road, whose malice rarely extends farther than to deprive a man of those outward goods, which, if he be wise, he will not call his own. Much more am I delighted with thy deliverance from those female thieves, who steal from men their hearts and reason, which last is our noblest, and only proper inheritance. All Persia and the Indies abound with courtesans; and he had need of Osmin's chastity who would withstand so many and strong temptations.

Thou needest not wonder at the effeminacy of the present Mogul, who suffers himself and his state to be governed by women. That subtle and aspiring sex have always sought to undermine or over-reach our race. They keep behind the scenes, yet act their parts in all the tragedies and revolutions of the world. The father of the present Indian King made an absolute resignation of his sovereignty to his queen for four-and-twenty hours. This prince, by a strange affectation, called himself, King of the world. His wife was the daughter of an Arabian captain, who had served him in the wars; but having forfeited his head by some notorious treason, his daughter went and threw herself at the Mogul's feet to beg his life. He fell passionately in love with her (for she had not her equal for beauty in all the East), granted

her petition, and married her. Afterwards she got such an empire over him, that he would do nothing without her advice and consent. At her instigation he made war or peace; and to please her cruel humour, he put out the eyes of his eldest son. But not satisfied with these discoveries of his love, and resolving to make herself famous by some extraordinary action, she never ceased soliciting the king, with all the arts of female policy, till she had prevailed on him to surrender up his authority to her for the space of a day; in which time (having prepared all things beforehand ready for her purpose) she caused two millions of rupees, in silver and gold, to be coined and stamped with the twelve signs of the Zodiac, contrary to the fundamental laws of the empire, the express prohibition of our holy Prophet, and the universal practice of the mussulmans throughout the world, who admit not the representations of any creatures that have life. This relation I had from my uncle Useph, who resided in the Indian court eleven years. He added, moreover, that during this short female reign, she cut off the heads of seven grandees, the most zealous for the mussulman faith among all the Indian princes, and established as many idolaters in their places; and that, if her orders had been fully executed, she had quite changed the government, consecrated the most beautiful mosques to the service of idols, exterminated the true faithful, and restored the ancient abominations of the infidels, which thou wilt not think impracticable, when thou considerest that the number of the uncircumcised in the Indies far exceeds that of the mussulmans, there being ten thousand of those to an hundred of such as profess the unity of the divine nature. But however, there was loyalty found even among those Pagans; and

they would not suffer a blind zeal for the worship of their gods, to supplant the duty they owed their king.

The description thou hast made of Candahar, and the method thou hast projected to take that impregnable city, discover at once thy conduct and diligence, in procuring liberty to survey so narrowly the most important place of the Indies, and thy skill in fortifications, with the quickness of thy invention, which has suggested to thee that which all the engineers of Asia have never so much as dreamt of. This is the right use of travelling, when a man returns from foreign nations cultivated with experimental knowledge, and stocked with improvements that may render him serviceable to his country.

Thou condemnest the injustice and avarice of the Indian Moguls, who, as soon as any of the Omrahs or great men die, cause all his estate and goods to be seized to their own proper use ; whereby it comes to pass, that the widow and children of the deceased are reduced to the lowest condition of poverty, being many times forced to beg for a subsistence. It is true, this is an oppression not to be justified, especially in those who profess to believe in one God, creator of all things, the incorrupt judge of the universe. But what thinkest thou then of our Sultans, who not having patience to wait till a natural death shall make them heirs to the wealth of a bassa, generally secure their title, and hasten their possession by a bow-string? These are royal violences, though the resignation of subjects must not tax them with any crime, who are accountable to none but God.

It was however a notable piece of raillery, with which the widow of a rich merchant reproved this unreasonable custom in the present Mogul : Her husband was an idolater, who had heaped together an infinite treasure by trading and usury, and when he died, left her worth two

hundred thousand rupees. Her son, some years after, coming of age, demanded of her a stock to set up with as a merchant ; which she, either out of avarice, or for other ends, refused him ; furnishing him only with such small sums as served to nourish his discontent, and tempt him to a lewd, careless life. But at length, not being able to prevail on his mother to part with so much as would answer his expectations, he complained to the Mogul, disclosing also what estate his father had left. The Mogul being informed of so much riches, sent for the young man's mother, and commanded her to send him half her money, ordering, that the other half should be divided between herself and her son. The widow, not being at all surprised or cast down at this unjust proposal, made the Mogul this short reply : " O king, may the gods make thee happy ! My son has some reason to require his share of his father's estate, having his blood running in his veins ; but I desire to know what relation thou art to my husband or me, that thou claimest a share in his inheritance." The prince, abashed at so smart and bold an address, commanded her to give half her estate to her son, and so dismissed her.

I have heard some of our Chiauses praise the magnificence of the Mogul's court, the infinite number of his attendants ; but above all, they extol the inimitable grandeur of his throne, which is adorned with so many topazes, rubies, emeralds, pearls, and diamonds, as amount to thirty millions of rupees. But were it not much better, if, instead of all this needless glory, he could boast, that his empire is founded in the hearts of his subjects ? He does not consider, that such prodigious heaps of envied treasure are but so many glittering snares, golden manacles, which serve for no other use but to chain him

up from that freedom, and those more innocent delights, that the meanest of his subjects enjoy.

Thou hast, I perceive, discoursed with the Indian Bramins : Dost not thou discover, even in these idolaters, a contempt of riches ? What mean thoughts have they of the splendour and gaities of the court ? What a low esteem of the long and proud series of titles with which the Moguls endeavour to exalt themselves ? Whilst they are called the lights of the world, and companions of the sun, these poor philosophers know, that in a little time they shall be laid in darkness, and have no better society than that of worms. What signifies their pedigree, or, that the present Mogul is but the tenth descendant from the mighty Tamerlane, who made all Asia tremble, if he has lost the virtue of his glorious ancestor ? It is that alone makes all men truly noble.

Thou tellest me, that the empire of the Mogul affords him more revenues than the dominions of any two the most potent monarchs on earth. I have heard as much from others, which convinces me, that thou hast informed thyself rightly of the present state of the Indies. But dost thou therefore esteem this monarch the richer ? Consider the vast extent of his dominions, which are said to contain more than six hundred leagues in length, and thou wilt find, that to maintain so great a track of ground, both against his foreign and domestic enemies, he is obliged to keep in constant pay some millions of his subjects and strangers ; for he is in the midst of enemies, even among his own subjects. There are above an hundred sovereigns in his empire, who perpetually by turns molest his government, refusing to pay tribute, and raising armies against him ; whereby it comes to pass, that he is at an infinite expence to defend himself, and carry on those endless wars ; thou thyself hav-



ing observed, that once in two moons there is an indispensable necessity of paying these prodigious armies, not a soldier throughout his empire having any thing to live on, save the wages he receives of the king.

Consider also, that this monarch always keeps some thousands of the finest horses in the world near his person, such as cost him thousands of rupees a-piece, besides a thousand elephants, with an incredible number of mules, camels, and other beasts of burden, to carry his wives, his goods, and provisions, when he takes the field; that whole cities, even as large as Constantinople, are obliged to follow the king's camp for subsistence, their livelihood altogether depending on the army. Add to this, the immense charges of his seraglio, his castles and sea-port towns, with all the other necessary expences of the state, and thou wilt conclude, that when this potentate comes to cast up his accounts, he will find himself a poor man.

But I shall cloy thee with a rehearsal of such things as thou canst not be a stranger to.

Only tell me, whether one of the raïas or princes subject to the Mogul, be the real descendant of Porus, the ancient king of India, in the time of Alexander the Great? I have been told by several travellers, that there is such an one, that his name is Rana, and that an hundred of the idolatrous princes pay homage to him, as to their natural sovereign.

Thou confirmest the truth of what has been so often reported in these parts, that the prince of Java has six fingers on each hand, and as many toes on his feet.

But that seems very strange which thou relatest, of a certain language among the Indians, which is not vulgarly spoken; but that all their books of theology, and pandects of their laws, the records of their nation, and

the treatises of human arts and sciences, are written in it ; and that this language is taught in their schools, colleges, and academies, even as Latin is among the Christians. I cannot enough admire at this ; for where and when was this language spoken ? How came it to be diffused ? There seems to be a mystery in it, that none of their Bramins can give any other account of this, save, that it is the language wherein God gave to the first creature he made the four books of the law, which, according to their chronology, was above thirty millions of years ago. I tell thee, my dear brother, this news has started some odd notions in my mind ; for when I consider, that this language, as thou sayest, has nothing in it common with the Indian that is now spoken, nor with any other language of Asia, or of the world, and yet that it is a copious and regular language, learned by grammar, like the other maternal languages, and that, in this obsolete language, books are written, wherein it is asserted, that the world is so many millions of years old ; I could almost turn Pythagorean, and believe the world to be within a minute of eternal. And where would be the absurdity ? since God had equally the same infinite power, wisdom and goodness, from all eternity, as he had five or six thousand years ago. What should hinder him then from exerting these divine attributes sooner ? What should retard him from drawing forth this glorious fabric earlier from the womb of nothing ? Suffer thy imagination to start backwards as far as thou canst, even to millions of ages, and yet thou canst not conceive a time wherein this fair unmeasurable expanse was not stretched out ; as if nature herself had engraven on our intellects this record of the world's untraceable antiquity, in that our strongest, swiftest thoughts, are far

too weak and slow to follow time back to its endless origin.

The revolution in China surpasses the common changes in kingdoms and empires ; there is something excessively tragical in the catastrophe of that royal house.

Brother, in beholding that, thou hast seen human nature in a trance ; and thou art so thyself, if after this, thou canst be fond of any thing on earth. Traveller, adieu.

Paris, 25th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1647.

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## XXII.—*To AFIS, Bassa.*

SEVERAL dispatches have been lately sent between this court and that of Swedeland, containing rather matter of compliment than any thing of great importance. Queen Christina has been very ill, which has occasioned letters of condolence from the Queen-regent of France.

Those which come from that part say, that General Torstenon is made a count, and the dignity entailed to his posterity, in recompence of his eminent services to the Swedish crown.

These letters add, that there have passed some high words between Monsieur Chanut and the Swedish secretary of state ; and that the latter, in going out of the chamber, where they discoursed, laid his hand upon his sword, with these words, “ Monsieur Chanut, were it not for the fence which the law of nations has raised about your person, I would answer you in another language.” To which Monsieur Chanut replied, “ That he wore a sword to defend himself and his private honour, as well as any Swede in the kingdom.”

The occasion of this quarrel was, the great resort of

Roman Catholic strangers to Monsieur Chanut's chapel, which gave disgust to the Swedes, who allow not the exercise of the Roman religion within their territories. They castrate all the priests of that communion whom they find, and prosecute the laity with rigorous penalties. But Monsieur Chanut pleaded the law of nations; and when the secretary told him, that the queen permitted him and his family the liberty of their religion, but desired him not to admit any other persons of what nation soever, this minister replied, " That he could not receive as a favour, or permission from her majesty, the liberty of exercising his religion, since he held it only of his master, the King of France, who had sent him thither, and that he would not shut the door of his chapel against any that would come in; that their law, which, according to their own calcule, was made about two thousand years after the foundation of their estate, could not abrogate the law of nations, which is eternal; that this perpetual law gave particular privileges to certain persons, and especially to the ministers of foreign princes; that their new law, such as it was, being only made to maintain the public worship, respected not what was done in the house of a foreign minister, by a special privilege, it being of no consequence to the state, whether such foreigners served God or not, or whether they worshipped him in a right or wrong way; that no Swede came to his chapel, but only some French, who were sojourners in the land; that they did not use the Swedish ambassadors so in France, who admitted whom they pleased into their chapels; that the house where he now dwelt, was the house of the King of France, and that therefore he could not by consequence refuse any Catholics an entrance into it, especially such as were born subjects of his master; and, in fine, that it was very rude to

oblige him to be the executioner of this severe law, in requiring him to shut his doors upon his countrymen, against the common laws of hospitality, the honour of a public minister, and the pleasure of the king his sovereign."

To this the secretary made something too tart a reply; whereupon words increasing between them, and the French ambassador being resolute to assert his privilege, the secretary broke out into a passion, as I have before mentioned, laying his hand upon his sword, as he was leaving the room.

The Swedes are naturally a rugged, surly people, as are all the Northern Europeans. They are strangers to civility, and the gentle address of the French. Yet the queen, when she heard of this passage, was angry with her minister, and excused his rudeness to Monsieur Chanut; telling him, That the secretary was a faithful servant, but had been educated among the bears of the forest.

This puts me in mind of a story, which the French tell of another ambassador, whom Lewis XIII. sent to the court of Spain. The Spaniards are of a haughty temper, expecting more than ordinary submissions from those who approach the king's presence. This ambassador, on the same ground, was required to do some homage, which would not consist with the instructions of his master, and therefore he refused to comply. The King of Spain, thinking to put him out of countenance, said aloud, "What! has the King of France no other men in his court, that he sends to me such a fool as this?" To which the ambassador replied, "My master has many wiser men than myself about him; but to such a king, such an ambassador."

Thou wilt not perhaps approve such raillery as this to



crowned heads, who ought to be treated with reverence and gravity ; yet, I believe, thou wilt condemn the cruelty of a Duke of Muscovy, who caused the hat of a French ambassador to be nailed to his head, for sitting covered before him. This is contrary to the genius of the East, who abhor to see a man bareheaded.

But every nation has its mode ; and I, according to the fashion of my country, kiss the border of thy vest, in token of my submission and respect.

Paris, 7th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1647.

XXIII.—*To the MUFTI, Most Venerable and worthy of all Honour.*

THE critics, who spend their time, and manifest their wit, in descanting on the court and the grandees, find perpetual matter of discourse concerning Cardinal Mazarini. His daily actions furnish them with new themes, and sometimes they rehearse the old. They compare him with his predecessor Richlieu, and with Cardinal Ximenes, a Spanish minister. They term these three, the Trinity of Christian Statesmen ; thus distinguishing their personal characters : Richlieu, they say, was crafty, covetous, and revengeful ; Ximenes was politic, severe, and valiant ; Mazarini is wise, merciful, and liberal.

The first made good his character, they say, in heaping up such prodigious treasures ; in raising all those of his family or dependence, to the highest honours ; in occasioning the voluntary banishment of the queen-mother ; in ruining whomsoever he suspected ; and, finally, in making himself so much the master of all secrets, that the king, however disgusted and averse from him, yet

could neither sit safe on his throne without him, when living, nor venture the management of the public to any of his creatures, when dead. Thus speak they of that great minister.

As to Cardinal Ximenes, they say, he discovered the qualities which they ascribe to him, in the method he took to raise himself to that envied greatness, which was, by seeming to shun the honours at which he secretly aimed. For being a devoted dervise, or religious friar, he appeared to be the most mortified man of the whole order; which being taken notice of, he was made provincial; from which dignity, he made but one step more to the purple; and growing eminent for his abilities, he was made first minister in the court of Spain.

He levied sixteen thousand men at his own cost, invaded Barbary, stormed their strongest cities, and reduced the whole kingdom of Tripoli and Algiers to his master's obedience.

Whilst he was at the head of his army, one day there happened a mutiny among his soldiers. A certain fellow, running up and down between the ranks, and exciting them, to choose a new general, saying, "It was a shame to serve a poor spirited friar;" the cardinal perceiving this, stepped to the fellow, and with one blow severed his head from his body. This struck such a terror into all, that from that time there was not the least tumult or disorder in his army.

They say he was in the end poisoned by eating of a fish, of which a friend of his received intimation on the road, as he was riding to the place where the cardinal was at dinner. But he came too late to prevent the effects of the poison; for though the cardinal was but just risen from the table, yet he began to void blood by his ears, and the extremities of his fingers, and in a few

days drew his last breath. He was tall, and well limbed; his two fore-teeth of the upper jaw grew so far out of his mouth, that he was called the Ecclesiastical Elephant; the sutures of his skull were so closely indented, that there was no more room for transpiration of the grosser vapours, than through the most solid part of the bone. On this account he was ever troubled with the headache, contrary to Cardinal Richlieu, who never felt any pain in that part, because he had two little holes in his crown, through which the fumes exhaled.

These are the remarks which are made on Cardinal Ximenes. As to Mazarini, they say, he surpasses both these ministers in the exquisite moderation of his temper; and comes short of neither, in the contrivance or success of affairs, being solid in his counsels, secret and swift in their execution. He has this also peculiar in his conduct, that none are more sure of his favour than those who have done him injuries. He is magnific in his expences, building palaces that may vie with the most celebrated structures of the ancient Romans; a curious collector of choice paintings and sculptures, furnishing the houses with utensils of cedar, ebony, silver, gold, and other ornaments, befitting the palace of a king; liberal beyond the expectation of his friends and servants, yet not to profuseness; he has a wonderful sagacity in discovering cheats and impostors, and no less dexterity in discerning men of merit, though never so much obscured by misfortune.

Not long ago he caught a gentleman in a crime, which exposed him to the laughter and contempt of the whole court, but not to the cardinal's hatred. He had been recommended to this minister by a lady of the court, for whom he had a great esteem; on which account he had

free access to the cardinal's presence, and would always mix with his retinue.

But his curious patron had observed something in his carriage, which gave him ground of mistrust; for he would always place himself as near as he could to a certain table in the chamber where the cardinal gives audience. There is a drawer under this table, which commonly stands half open, it being the place where all petitioners throw in their bribes or presents, it not being seemly for a prince of the church to take money himself. The cardinal observed, that this spark always had his eye glancing on that drawer, as if he coveted what was there contained; however, he took no notice, but gave him all the opportunities imaginable to do his pleasure; yet still one accident or other hindered the gentleman from executing his design, which was to borrow some of the gold that lay in that drawer. At length it happened, that the cardinal having appointed some curious pageants to be made in honour of the king's birth-day, he with several of the courtiers, stood looking out of the windows to see these triumphant shows pass by. The gentleman, taking this opportunity, whilst he thought all eyes were intent on the gaieties without, slips to the table, and takes out of the drawer a bag of gold, putting it up in his pocket, and retiring to the window again. He imagined that nobody had seen him, and therefore hugged himself in the thoughts of his booty. When the show was over, and the company withdrew from the window, after a while they all took their leave and departed, and among the rest this gentleman-thief was going out. But the cardinal desired him to tarry, in that he had something to say to him. The gentleman, stung with the guilt of what he had done, fell a-trembling, and was ready to drop down at the cardinal's feet; but he bid

him be of good comfort, saying thus to him, " My friend, what thou hast done is not hid from me ; if thou hast not gold enough, I will double thy sum." Therewith he gave him another bag of equal value, saying withal, " Go thy way, and see my face no more ; I pardon, but cannot trust thee."

Wouldst thou know by what means the cardinal discovered this theft? He always wears on his finger a ring, in which is set a jewel of inestimable value ; it being a natural mirror, and discovering all things that are done in the room, though behind a man's back. It was on this stone the cardinal cast his eye, when the gentleman thought he was looking out of the window ; therein he beheld him go to the table, take out the money, and put it in his pocket. Thou seest how curious this minister is to stock himself with useful rarities.

May that great chancellor of heaven, the angel who beholds in the divine essence, as in a mirror, whatsoever is done on earth, and records all human actions in the book of judgment, never discern any thing in Mahmut which may render him worthy to be excluded the presence of God.

Paris, 12th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1647.

XXIV.—To DANECMAR KESROU, *Kadilefquer of Romania.*

THOU that art principal among the judges of high dignity, the illustrious ornament of three empires, the strong support of equity, who preservest reason, and correctest vice, I congratulate thy deserved honour, and in doing so, I wish increase of joy to all the faithful Osinans.

The knowledge which thou hast acquired in the law



of nations, and in the most perfect sanctions of our august monarchy, has made thee famous through the seven precincts of the earth ; and has vested thee with the robe of sublime honour, the gift of the lieutenant of God.

I made choice of this occasion at once to perform my duty, and to acquaint thee with a national villany, such a violation of the public faith of a kingdom as it will be difficult to parallel.

The civil wars of England are known throughout the world ; and thou art no stranger to the particular intelligences I have sent to the Sublime Porte concerning that nation.

Since that time, the rebels have by degrees gained ground of their unhappy king, chasing him from one place to another ; till at length finding, that neither by arms nor treaties, he could reduce them to any terms of reconciliation, and being besieged in one of his cities, which was not in a condition to hold out long, this unfortunate monarch was forced to disguise himself, and escape by night, wandering through unfrequented ways, and enduring much hardship. He at length threw himself upon the faith of the Scots, who had solemnly engaged themselves upon oath to defend him against all his enemies whatsoever.

The Scottish army was then in England, being hired to assist the rebels ; whence some take occasion to accuse this prince of rashness, and too much credulity, in seeking protection from those who first began the rebellion, and who had stained the records of Scotland with the blood of many of their kings. But innocence is void of suspicion, and therefore, because his own intentions were sincere, he knew not how to be jealous of others.

However, the Scots at first seemed to act the parts of

loyal men; and when they were threatened by the English rebels, and their pay was stopped, with declarations also issued out against their proceedings, they continued to assert the justice of their deportment, in receiving and defending their injured king who had fled to them for succour.

They detained him thus from the 4th of the 5th moon of the year 1646, to the 30th day of the 1st moon of this present year; at which time, having agreed with the English parliament for the sum of four hundred thousand sequins, as the price of their sovereign, they delivered him up to the English commissioners, deputed by the rebels for that purpose.

The French ambassador was at that time in the Scottish army, who having been a witness of their detestable perjury, took his leave; and being attended with a guard of light horse to the sea-port, at parting he pulled out a piece of English money, valued at half a-crown, and asking the captain of the guards into how many pieces of coined silver that half-crown might be divided; he answered, into thirty: "For so much (replied the ambassador) did Judas betray his master."

Thou wilt better comprehend the force of this repartee, when thou considerest, that, according to the Christians belief, this Judas was a slave of Jesus, the son of Mary, and that for thirty pieces of silver, he betrayed that prophet to the Jews.

But these infidels have found out ways to elude all engagements and promises: They couch their oaths in words more ambiguous than the oracles of Delphos, as if they thought not only to circumvent men by their equivocations, but also to deceive him who formed the tongue and the ear, even God, who is perfect in knowledge.

Such a story I have read of one Hatto, a German

bishop, whose perjury is recorded. This prelate had a cousin who was accused of treason against the emperor ; on which account he was closely besieged by the Imperial forces, in a castle seated on the top of an impregnable rock ; so that the emperor, despairing to take him by force, had withdrawn his army, when this bishop came to him, and for a sum of money promised to betray his kinsman into the emperor's hands.

The bargain being concluded, the bishop went to visit his cousin at the castle, persuading him to go and humble himself to the emperor, and he would engage to procure his pardon ; binding himself with a solemn oath, that if he would rely on him, as he carried him safe out of the castle, so he would bring him back alive and safe again.

His kinsman, deluded with these fair pretences, and secured by the sanction of an oath, trusts himself to the conduct and fidelity of the prelate.

When they had rode about half a league from the castle, the bishop, pretending he had forgot some papers of moment, which he had left behind him in his chamber, they returned back to the castle ; and when they had found the papers, they set forward again toward the emperor's camp. Being arrived there, the impious wretch delivered his kinsman to the emperor, who condemned him to die. He sending for the bishop, reproaches him with the violation of his oath ; but the perfidious bishop sought to acquit himself, by saying, " He had performed his promise, in carrying him back safe to the castle, when he returned to seek his papers." Thus was his kinsman betrayed by a quibble, and lost his head ; the bishop acquiring, for that impious deed, the odious title of Hatto the Traitor ; and the Germans report, that he was afterwards carried away by devils, and thrown alive into the hollow of mount *Ætna* ; a

voice being heard at the same instant in the air, saying, "This is the reward of perjury."

The Nazarenes believe this flaming mountain to be one of the mouths of hell: The same opinion they have of Strombolo and Vesuvius. I am not curious to pry into the truth of so costly a secret, but leave the experiment to the foresworn, treacherous Scots, who, by this barbarous action, deserve to follow the fate of Hatto.

Much greater was the integrity and virtue of the ancient Romans, whom these infidels number among the damned. They esteemed nothing more sacred than the public faith, building temples to its honour, and stamping their money with the figure of two hands joined together, having this motto, *THE FAITH OF THE ROMANS*. But the Scots show themselves to be of Lyfander's mind, who used to say, "Children must be circumvented with good words, and men with oaths."

This monarch is now led in triumph, like a captive, by his rebellious subjects, who have confined him to one of his country palaces, suffering none of his friends or faithful servants to come near him, but in all things endeavouring to render his restraint insupportable.

Thou who art accurate in interpreting the laws of justice, wilt condemn these infidels of horrid treason, yet canst not acquit the Mussulmans, who have often deposed our most august emperors.

I divide my intelligence among the ministers of the Sublime Porte, and the other grandees of the state; praying God to guard the sultan from secret machinations and open enemies, and to grant, that an excess of good nature may not betray him to such misfortunes as have befallen this imprisoned monarch.

Paris, 21st of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1647.

XXV.—*To RAGEL HAMET, Antiquary to the Sultan.*

THIS city is pestered with an innumerable multitude of bats, and a kind of serpents, which they call lizards or newts. They breed in the walls of their houses, and molest the inhabitants night and day, swarming more than ordinary every ninth year.

The Parisians give an odd reason for this plague: They say, that in former ages a certain magician had undertaken to free this city from all venomous creatures; and that accordingly he had made several images of those animals, annexing to them enchantments, and hiding them in obscure places under the earth; promising also, that so long as those images remained untouched, Paris should not be molested with any hurtful thing. This succeeded according to his words; till at a certain time, as they were digging up the foundations of an old temple, the workmen found several brazen images, some representing a bat, some a lizard. They making small account of those magical reliques, sold them to the next brazier for a piece of money, who, being ignorant also of the hidden force of these images, melted them down for his own use; and ever since that time the city has been over-run with bats and lizards.

I relate this to thee, in regard I have often heard thee speak of the ancient statues that were in the Atmidam at Constantinople, and in other parts of the city; particularly of that pillar which had three brazen serpents winding about it, which, when Mahomet the Great beheld, the conqueror struck one of them with a battle-axe, and smote off the lower jaw; upon which a multitude of serpents infested the city, but were soon exterminated, in regard the sultan, being warned by the citizens, forbore



to do any farther injury to those images, which were the guardians of the city.

The annals of the mussulman empire make mention of these statues, as also of a horse of brass, and a bull of the same metal; the one erected as a charm against the pestilence; the other as an oraculous sign, that the enemies of the Grecian monarchy should in that place be repulsed and driven out of the city. Yet it proved otherwise; for the victorious mussulmans, against whom the enchantments of the infidels could not prevail, entered the market-place, where this image stood, and drove from thence the timorous Grecians, cutting in pieces all that made resistance, and rendering themselves lords of Constantinople, at that time the richest city in the world.

The Romans were extremely addicted to these superstitious vanities, believing the safety of their city and empire consisted in the preservation of the Palladium, an image which they thought fell down from Jupiter, and was transported from Troy to Italy by Æneas; being afterwards repositied in the Temple of Vesta, but burnt in that dreadful conflagration which happened in the reign of Nero.

They had in no less veneration the buckler, which they were taught dropped down from heaven into the hands of Numa Pompilius, whereon the fate of Rome was engraven in characters which none could read. Fearing lest this sacred shield might be stolen, they caused eleven others of the same figure to be made, and all to be hung up together in the temple of Mars.

And, to the end the guardian genius of the city should not be enticed from them by the enchantments of their enemies, the true name of the city of Rome was kept secret, even from its own inhabitants, insomuch that Valerius Soranus was put to death for publishing it to one of

his friends. Many have guessed at this hidden name; some saying it was Valencia, others that it was Velia; a third sort call it Anthusa: but there is no certainty in their conjectures; for the pagans were, above all things, careful to conceal the names of their cities and patron gods, knowing that those spirits would not forsake them till they were called forth by their proper names.

They used also to chain the images of their gods to the altars, lest they should depart from them by stealth. Thus the Tyrians, when Alexander besieged their city, and they understood from the priests, that Apollo the guardian of Tyre was displeased with them, they fastened his image with strong fetters of iron. So dealt the Spartans with the image of Mars. And this was the common practice among those idolatrous nations.

As for us, who have received the law clear and intelligible, and believe in the unity of the divine essence, we use no charms ourselves, neither do we fear the magic of the uncircumcised. All our confidence is in God, and the protection of his prophet: We go boldly to the wars, whilst we fight in defence neither of statues nor fictitious relics, but of the volume replenished with truth and light, the book brought down from Heaven by an angel.

Paris, 17th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1647.

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XXVI.—*To the VISIER AZEM.*

I AM now returned from Orleans, whither I went in obedience to thy appointments, and not without abundance of pleasure to myself, it being the time of year when all things conspire to make a traveller pass his time away with delight.

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Yet my return was melancholy, in regard I could not accomplish what I aimed at, nor be in a capacity to render thee that satisfaction thou requirest, either in buying the jewels, or in establishing any correspondence. Those who informed thee of the Germans inhabiting that city, were mistaken in their character, they being only a society or corporation of students, and nowise concerned in traffic or merchandise.

They told thee right, in saying there are a great number of strangers in Orleans: I think the imperial city, which commands the world, cannot boast a greater diversity of languages than are spoken daily in the streets and houses of Orleans. There are some almost of all nations residing in that city.

Wouldst thou know the real occasion of this mighty conflux of foreigners? It is, that they may study that which the Nazarenes call the Civil Law, which is there professed as in an academy, erected for that purpose by Philip the Fair, one of the kings of France.

If thou knowest not the meaning of the Civil Law, it is a collection of the ancient Roman laws, drawn from above two thousand books of their scribes, by the command of the Emperor Justinian, for a standard of equity in those corrupt times, in that universal relaxation and decline of good government.

This is the attractive, which draws so many strangers from all parts of Europe, to that pleasant city, where, besides the opportunity of improving themselves in the most honourable profession among the Nazarenes, next to that of the priesthood, they enjoy a pure and serene heaven, a fruitful and delicious part of the earth, and the company of the most obliging and courteous people in all France.

It is for this reason the Germans, among other nations, flock to Orleans; and, through the favour of the French kings, have obtained a privilege beyond other nations; that is, to incorporate themselves into a society of students. Neither is there any such thing as merchandise known among them.

If I have not answered thy expectation, supreme Prince of the Bassas, blame not Mahmut, but accuse the Germans of Orleans, for not exchanging their studies for traffic; or rather blame those who presumed to tell thee this far-fetched fable. In finishing this letter, I bow my head to the floor of my chamber, and kiss the paper which shall have the honour to be touched by thy illustrious hands.

Paris, 1st of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1647.

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XXVII.—*To the AGA of the Janissaries.*

THOU hast heard of the Assyrian, Scythian, and Roman heroines. These were all valiant leaders of armies, women of honour and renown. Now I will inform thee of a female, which France has brought upon the stage of war.

According to the orders which I received from the Visier Azem, I took a journey to Orleans last moon; where, on the third day after my arrival, beholding a solemn procession in the streets of that populous city, attended with some uncommon ceremonies and rejoicings, my curiosity prompted me to inquire the occasion of it. Thou mayest imagine I did not apply myself for information to the multitude, who take up things on the common credit of fame, which does not always deliver the

truth. I addressed myself to those who were acquainted with the records of the town ; who told me, that this solemnity was yearly observed on the eighth day of the fifth moon, in memory of their deliverance from the English, who besieged this city, and were beaten from before it by Joan d'Arc, a maid of Lorraine, in the reign of Charles I. This virago seemed to be the tutelar angel of France ; for to her valour and conduct that monarch owed the recovery of his kingdom, almost lost to the King of England ; this being the last place of importance which had not received English garrisons. After she had raised the siege, she pursued the enemy, gave them several battles, defeated them, took the generals captive, reduced all the cities to their former obedience, and never sheathed her sword till she saw her master solemnly crowned at Rhemes. Yet at length she herself was made a prisoner by the English, and was publicly burned for a witch at Rouen.

The inhabitants of Orleans have erected brazen statues in her honour. They celebrate her praises, and esteem her a woman divinely inspired to save her country. Yet the more intelligent sort say, that she was neither witch nor prophetess, but only a maid of good wit and courage, whom some of the princes of the blood royal had instructed to act the part of a missionary from Heaven ; that so, by pretending visions and revelations, she might raise the courage of the French, now almost dispirited by their many losses, and whom nothing less than a miracle could persuade to abide the field against the victorious English. This is certain, that she distinguished the king, though disguised like a peasant, and in a crowd of people : She went boldly up to him, and saluted him by his title, to the astonishment of those that stood by. She sent a messenger to bring her a sword of antique work-



manship, that lay hid in a tomb in one of their famous mosques, (for the Nazarenes of the West bury the dead in their temples). This action extremely enhanced her reputation, in regard none knew of this sword but the king himself. She was therefore looked upon as an extraordinary person, and the people could hardly be restrained from paying her divine honours.

When they were encamped on a certain plain of a vast extent, where there was no water to be found, so that the army was ready to perish through thirst, the king came to the tent of this prophetess, to consult her as an oracle in the general distress. She bid him be of good courage, and follow her. They went out together to the door of her tent, where, at a little distance, there grew a knot of flowers. The admirable maid struck her spear into the ground, amidst the flowers, and incontinently there sprung forth a fountain of water, to which the whole army repaired to allay their thirst. They say the place is shown to this day, with an image of this maid standing in an oratory, close by it, a place of refreshment and devotion for travellers that pass over those barren plains.

However, whether it were artifice, or that she was endowed with some supernatural gift, it had a marvellous influence on the soldiers, who began to reassume courage, and feared nothing under the conduct of such a general.

It was revenge, without doubt, rather than justice, that extorted that cruel sentence from the English, which put a period to the heroic actions of this illustrious maid, whose fame will live for ever.

It is recorded, that whilst she was bound fast to the stake with strong cords, they would have kindled the fire upon her before she had spoke to the spectators; but that she suddenly became loosened, and, snatching a lance

from one of the foldiers, ſhe drove the guards before her; then returning of her own accord to the ſtake, ſhe made her laſt dying ſpeech, foretelling many things to come, which afterwards proved true; and having made an end of ſpeaking, ſhe bid the executioner ſet fire to the wood, which he did accordingly, and ſhe was burned to aſhes.

Certainly every nation may boaſt of ſome female warrior, that at one time or other has done remarkable ſervice to her country: And thou art not a ſtranger to the hiſtory of the Amazons, who excluded men from their ſociety, yet became formidable to all the regions round about them.

Adieu, brave commander of the muſſulman forces, and let the memory of theſe valiant females inſpire thee with freſh ardours, when the Ottoman empire is in danger.

Paris, 1ſt of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1647.

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### XXVIII.—To DGNET OGLOU.

THOU art the man that muſt participate in all my adventures; and I ſhould be a churl, in not letting thee ſhare with me the pleaſure I found in a late journey to Orleans, one of the preſidiary towns of France. It was by the order of the Viſier Azem I undertook that journey. Somebody had informed him, that this town was full of merchant-travellers of ſeveral nations, but eſpecially of Germany, who brought the choiceſt jewels of the eaſt, to vend in this place at ordinary rates. That miniſter gave me commands to buy certain ſtones, with inſtructions to treat of another affair, which it is not neceſſary for thee to know. I accordingly ſet out from Paris the

third day of the fifth moon ; and Eliachim the Jew (of whom thou hast heard) bore me company.

I need not describe to thee the country through which we passed ; it exactly resembleth the plains of St. Isidore, not far from Palermo in Sicily. Thou and I have reason to remember that place of our captivity, carrying the marks of our master's cruel anger yet in our bodies. Those plains, thou knowest, afford a very agreeable prospect, especially at this time of the year, when the verdure of the trees, mixed with the brightness of the corn-fields, and the parti-coloured meadows, tempt the eye into a controversy of pleasure, a man neither knowing well how to take it off, nor yet where to fix it, in such an orderly confusion and medley of charming objects.

Such is the province between Paris and Orleans, which has this advantage of those Sicilian plains, that here, all the way one rides, innumerable magnificent and beautiful palaces appear, shooting up their glittering turrets above the lofty groves, which environ those seats of pleasure. Indeed this is one of the purest airs, and the most fertile soil in all the kingdom, which invites the nobles and gentry to reside here during the summer, and occasions much travelling on this road.

About mid-day, we came to a town called Chastres, where we alighted to refresh ourselves. Travellers, in these western parts are better accommodated with provisions than they can be in Asia, where they must carry their own beds with them, and dress their own victuals, or lie on the naked floor fasting. This makes the Nazarenes call the East inhospitable. They consider not at the same time, that it is the niceness and delicacy of the Mahometans, which occasions this custom. For the eastern people are fearful of defiling themselves by eating meat prepared by other hands than their own, or those

of their servants ; as also to lie on a bed common to all passengers.

But these infidels are like the swine, to whom all meat is welcome, and every ditch an acceptable bed. Here are inns all along the roads, whereinto when you enter, the host provides you both bed and all other necessaries. A man must venture to sleep on the same pillow, where perhaps a leper has lain the night before, or some person infected with a worse disease. The host examines none, but harbours all alike, provided they have money to pay him. And as for victuals, it is the custom for all travellers to eat together at one common table, where several dishes of meat are served up, and every man is free to eat what and how much he pleases, paying a stated price for his dinner.

Thus no sooner were we come into our inn at Chastres, but the host saluting us after the manner of the country, invited us to sit down at the ordinary (for so they call their public dinner in an inn). We were not so scrupulous as to refuse his offer, but followed him into the chamber where the dinner was prepared. There were many guests at the table, and all busy in feeding themselves. We took such seats as we found vacant, and, without much ceremony, fell to eating. The Jew trusted to the indulgence of Moses, and I to that of Mahomet, for eating with the uncircumcised, whose meat is seldom free from the pollutions of blood. We knew, that neither God nor his prophets required us to starve.

There was plenty of wine, and that so delicious, as would have tempted an hogia to taste it, without the musti's dispensation. To avoid singularity, I made a show of eating as the rest ; but the greatest part of my repast consisted in bread and some fruits, with that exhilarating juice of the grape.



The honest Jew swore it was a banquet prepared by Cupid, to render him the most miserable of all men ; for, just in the midst of our mirth, came in a French gentleman with a lady in his hand, who placed themselves at the table exactly opposite to us. I perceived evident symptoms of some disorder in Eliachim, who seemed to read his fate in that fair creature's face, yet had not power to check his wandering eyes, or guard them from inevitable wounds. He had almost acted over the story of the Egyptian wives, whom Joseph's mistress had invited to behold his beauty ; they cut their fingers for their meat, whilst gazing on the charming youth ; so poor Eliachim was all confusion, turned to a statue, whilst he looked on this enchanting Gorgon. He had forgot to eat or drink, till I began to rouse him from his dream. I told him softly in the ear, this lady was but the younger sister of Ixion's mistress. This brought him to his sense again, but could not restore his peace. Prudence taught him to dissemble the violent emotion of his soul, and not to expose himself in such a company ; but nothing could expel the fatal poison from his breast.

When we had sufficiently reposed ourselves, we bid adieu to the inn, all joining company, and setting forward to Orleans. On the road, both Eliachim and I had many opportunities of conversing with this young lady, such familiarity with women being allowed in France. We found her wit surprising as her beauty, and her mien and conduct such as gave advantage to them both. In a word, Eliachim was lost amidst so many perfections.

When we came to our inn at night, and were in our chamber together, he vented his passion in these words :  
“ Mahmut, I have passed these years hitherto, without any other sentiments of love, save those which in gene-



ral I owe to all our race, and some more particular regards of friendship and duty ; but, since I saw this lovely creature, methinks my friends, and all that ought to be beloved on earth, is now contracted into her. It is not her snowy skin or matchless features are of force to move me, though they are such, thyself being judge, as would have foiled Apelles's art to imitate ; but it is a lustre which I cannot express. Surely it was lightning darted from her eyes, those fair avenues of her brighter soul ; the subtle flame glanced through my breast, and in a moment scorched my reason up ; the lovely Basilisk shot death at every look. Thou sawest how I sat as one transformed, so lifeless, and without motion was I, whilst gazing on my ruin ; and to this hour, a fatal numbness spreads through all my veins, as if I had touched some dire torpedo."

Thus went he raving on, till I interrupted him, with laughter and raillery, endeavouring to cure him of this love-sick humour by ridiculing it. I told him my own experience of this foolish passion, rehearsed my former adventures with Daria, and how at length I got the victory of this vain fondness by absence, and the exercise of my reason ; but all that I could say made no impression on the stupid lover ; he grew but worse, and so I left him to seek repose from sleep.

We came not to Orleans till the next day, where we tarried not long, having no other business as it happened, but to see the rarities of the town, and inform ourselves of those things it is convenient for travellers to know. After which we returned to Paris ; I, with the same sentiments I had at my first setting out from thence, but it seems the world was metamorphosed in poor Eliachim's opinion. To him the trees had now lost all their greenness ; the flowers, and grass, and corn, looked wi-

thered ; the birds sung mournful notes ; the winds blew hoarse, unwelcome sounds ; and every thing in nature seemed to him to droop, because Falante was not there ; so was the fair one called, as Eliachim had learned of her, when we parted from Orleans.

In this melancholy condition, the poor brain-sick Jew has continued ever since : When his cure will commence, I know not.

If thou yet retainest thy native liberty, and hast not sacrificed it to unhappy love, learn by his misfortune to watch thy senses, which are the first traitors to the soul. Adieu.

Paris, 1st of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1647.

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#### XXIX.—*To the CAPTAIN BASSA.*

THOU that hast had thy education in Arsenals, and hast led the rest of thy life in ships of war, wilt be best able to judge of the proposal which a certain bold sea captain made to Cardinal Mazarini not long ago.

It being the general discourse of this city, with what insult and defiance Admiral Morosini, with about thirty men of war, entered the Hellespont, and braved the Dardanelles ; this officer told the cardinal, that if he would furnish him with half that number of ships, he would engage to drive the Sultan out of his seraglio, lay that palace in the dust, and beat down the towers of all the mosques in Constantinople, or lose his life in the attempt. To which the Cardinal replied, “ Monsieur, I believe it is possible, if you could finish your work, before they would board your men of war with an hundred galleys and faiques full of armed men.”

It is said, that Cardinal Richlieu had such a project:

once, which made him propose the building of prodigious high ships, whose outsides should be stuck all over with sharp spikes, that should render it impossible for galleys to board them.

By this thou mayest know, that such an attempt is not thought impracticable by the Christians. I wish it be not put in effectual execution by them, when the Porte may least dream of it.

Christina Queen of Swedeland, has caused a most magnificent vessel to be built, with design to present it to Cardinal Mazarini. The inner work of the cabin is of cedar, curiously overlaid with flowers, and other imagery of gold; the extremity of the stern adorned with windows, statues, and galleries; the wooden work all overlaid with the same metal; the roof of the cabin presents the story of Jason's expedition to get the golden fleece, painted by the best masters in Swedeland; all the furniture speaks the royal bounty of her that gives it; the cannon are of the purest brass; the rest of the tackle such as are fittest to weather the winds and waves; from which neither this queen's sovereignty in Swedeland, nor the cardinal's grandeur in France, could exempt either of them, were they exposed to sea.

There are those who whisper on this occasion, that the Queen of Swedeland has some inclinations to the Roman Catholic religion; that she has had several conferences with Monsieur Chanut on that subject, as also with his priests; that her resident in Portugal has openly embraced that faith, not without the queen's private consent and approbation. It is not material to us what religion the infidels profess, whilst they assert doctrines repugnant to the divine unity, and the truth of the sent of God. I behold, at this time, an evident sign of his unity in the heavens; it is the new moon just rising from

the lower hemisphere. At the sight of this planet, the messenger of God has commanded me to fall on my face, and adore the Eternal.

Wherefore, praying that her influences may prove propitious to thee, whilst thou art on the ocean, I bid thee adieu.

Paris, 23d of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1647.

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### B O O K III.

LETTER I.—*To BEDREDIN, Superior of the Convent of Dervises, at Cogni in Natolia.*

NOT more welcome are the rich perfumes of Arabia to a soul almost expiring through grief and melancholy than is thy letter to Mahmut, wherein is contained the certificate of thy being yet on this side the state of invisibles. Methinks, all nature flourishes while thou art alive; and I feel a spirit within me prompts me to presage, that thy death, like the fall of leaves in autumn, will prove the harbinger of the world's last winter. Whilst thou livest, thy prayers and merits support the drooping elements, which are now almost ready to fall into their primitive chaos and inactivity. The angel of the trumpet, in contemplation of thy virtue, delays to sound the grand tremendous blast, which, at an instant, shall puff out the light of sun, moon, and stars, and blow the breath out of the nostrils of all the living generations. That day shall be a day of darkness, horror, and silence, till the hour of transmigration comes; when, at the second blast, the firmament shall rent asunder, like the opening of cur-

tains ; this old world shall fly away like a shadow, to the right hand and to the left : Then shall naked souls hang hovering in the empty space betwixt paradise and hell ; the throne shall be placed, judgment shall be given ; and, to wind up the mysteries of fate, a new and immortal world shall at a moment spring forth from the womb of eternity, and possess the place of the former.

I write not this to instruct thee, Venerable Bedredin, who art a mine of knowledge, but to satisfy thee, that though I live amongst infidels, yet I conserve inviolate the faith of my fathers, believing the book brought down from the eternal archives. Thou searest that I shall turn Christian, being accused by some of levity in my opinions ; by others of profaneness and atheism ; by all, of discovering too favourable an inclination to the Nazarenes.

Suffer me, O holy president of the servants of God, to purge myself of these false imputations, the product of envy and malice. Permit me to lay at thy sacred feet a modest apology for my faith.

Let not that description of the Christians Messias which I sent thee in my last letter, create in thee an opinion to my disadvantage, nor prevail on thee to think, I can ever swerve from the profound attach I owe to the sent of God. I honour Jesus the son of Mary ; and so I do all his brethren, the prophets in paradise : This I am taught in the Alcoran. Where is then my crime ? If I give virtue its due praise, even in the infidels, am I therefore a Nazarene ? If I speak with reverence and modesty of Christian princes, am not I therefore a mussulman ? Or, does the book of glory teach us arrogance ? Surely my traducers will blush, when they shall consider, that our august emperors themselves (who are sovereigns of all the kings on earth), when they vouchsafe to write to



Christian princes, dictate their letters in a style full of affection and regard : They give them magnificent titles at the beginning, and at the conclusion they wish them increase of felicity, both here and in paradise. And would it become a slave to treat crowned heads with less respect than does the Master of the Universe ? If I have contracted friendship with some of the Christian dervises, it was to serve the ends of the Sublime Porte, and perform the rites of gratitude. I thought it no crime to receive a kindness from any man, or to return it, without examining his religion. But perhaps they suspect the intimacies I had with Cardinal Richlieu, and still have with his successor Mazarini. Rest assured, O holy dervise, that my access to these princes of the Roman church is so far from being criminal, that without it I never had been capable of penetrating into the counsels of the infidels, nor of doing any effectual service to the Grand Signior. The countenance which my familiarity with these two great ministers affords me, has all along facilitated my designs ; and, whilst under their umbrage I am taken for a zealous Christian, I secretly lay a foundation, whereon, in due time, shall be built, even in the heart of Christendom, triumphal arches for the victorious mussulmans. It is strange, methinks, that, after all this, I should be suspected ! That notwithstanding I have patiently endured nine years confinement to an obscure and private life ; a melancholy banishment to a strange country, yea, to a city for which I have a natural aversion ; a city the most unclean, noisy, and vain in the whole earth ; to be shut up, for the sake of avoiding discovery, in a chamber so narrow, that suspicion itself, nay, even thought, the mother of that little passion, would sweat and be stifled, when once circumscribed within these walls ; and, after all this, to be made a prisoner of state,

on jealousy of being a Mahometan ; to abide that punishment so many moons unmoved, uncorrupted, and at length to be released, to the advantage of the Ottoman interest, and yet to be traduced at home, for a traitor to God, his prophet, and my sovereign, has surely something in it inconsistent.

What is then my crime ? Or why am I thus aspersed ? Let my slanderers hereafter be silent ; unless they will lay it to my charge, that in some of my letters I have discovered a mind free from superstition ; that I put a high value on reason, and have no low esteem for some of the ancient philosophers ; that I endeavour to guard my sense, and will not suffer it to be muzzled with the impositions of ignorance and prejudice ; that I do not think it a necessary qualification of a mussulman to pursue with inexorable hatred all men that differ from me in opinion ; in fine, that in all my conversation, I strive to comport myself as one who asserts the unity of the Divine essence, the plurality of his prophets, the determinate number of the elect ; and who is resolved and prepared rather to die a thousand deaths than voluntarily to commit an impiety against these principles, or the interests of the Grand Signior, who has a right to command all mankind. If these be crimes, I must own myself culpable ; if not, let my accusers lay their hand upon their mouth. And continue thou, sage doctor of our holy law, to instruct me with thy counsels, to assist me with thy prayers, and to protect me with thy friendship : then shall Mahmut persevere a true believer, a faithful slave to the Osman emperor, and a devout admirer of thy longevity and virtue.

I should fear this might be the last letter I should have the honour to send thee, were I not convinced by some near examples, that old age was not restrained to the

times before the flood. Though thou hast far outpassed the ordinary years of men, yet there is at this time, not far from Paris, a man who has near doubled thy age. He is an hermit, living on a hill, where all things necessary for human sustenance seem to be wanting; the walls of his house are built of mud, with his own hands (a weak defence against wind and rains); his bed is composed of leaves of trees; a stone serves him for his pillow; his diet consists of such herbs and fruits as that mountain affords him; a neighbouring well allays his thirst: He has dwelt in this place, and in this manner, eighty-three years, after he had travelled most parts of Europe and Asia. Ask him by what means he preserved his life so long, he answers, "By living free from care, and by being indifferent to all things." He foretells things to come with marvellous success, as has often been observed, which makes the people esteem him a prophet.

The French tell me of another who lived longer than he, being three hundred sixty and one years old when he died. He was called John of the Times, in regard he lived from the reign of Charles the Great to that of the Emperor Conrade. And being asked what diet he used, his answer was, "Honey within, and oil without."

This comforts me with the hopes of seeing thee on earth, though many years hence; since no man can exceed thee in abstinence, sobriety, and the calmness of thy mind.

The Great Author of Life so grant, that if I may not enjoy this felicity here, yet I may not, by any enormous crimes, merit to be excluded thy society in paradise.

Paris, 11th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1647.

II.—*To* MURAT, *Bassa*.

THE French are puffed up with the late defeat they gave the Spanish fleet in sight of Naples. Their joy would know no bounds, were it not curbed by the loss of the Duke of Breze, who was slain by a cannon bullet in this naval combat.

The young Prince of Conde has been also forced to withdraw his army from before Lerida, that place being ever fatal to the French. This has lessened the disgrace which the Count of Harcourt received the last campaign, in not being able to carry that town after six moons siege.

But the news from the Levant has elated all the Franks beyond measure; yet, I hope, the relations that are scattered abroad on that subject, are rather an effect of their wishes than of any real success against the invincible Ottomans.

It is reported, that there have been two sea-fights between our fleets and the Venetians; that in the former we lost two thousand men, seven galleys, and a *bassa*; that in the latter the Venetians took forty galleys, six *caramufals*, and fifty *faiques*, laden with men and ammunition for the relief of our army in Candy.

The honour of this last victory is ascribed to the valour and conduct of Bernard Morosini and General Grimani; Bernard succeeding his brother Thomas Morosini, who was killed, as they say, in the first battle.

The Christians every where express great joy for these victories. The open streets are filled with tables, covered with all manner of dainties, at the public cost; they feast and revel night and day; the bells ring continually, and bonfires are made to celebrate the triumph of the



Nazarenes; they preface to themselves the conquest of the Ottoman empire, and eternal victories.

From Dalmatia the posts bring daily news of our losses and disgraces. It is known here, that the castles of Xemonido, Novigrade, Nadin, Carin, and all the places of strength which we had in our possession, except Clissa, are taken by the Venetians.

They laugh at our siege of Sebenico, where we lost two thousand men, and at length were forced to leave our camp to the Christians, our general being frightened away by a few women.

It seems strange and ominous to me, that those arms which have formerly crushed the greatest monarchies to pieces, and have changed the face of the whole earth, should now be foiled by a few desperadoes. I dare be thus far a prophet, that either the soldiers are disgusted, which will produce a revolution, or the mighty empire of the Osmans is in its decline, which God avert.

The Christians (who are not ignorant of our affairs, nor of the very secrets of the seraglio), by an odd kind of charity, pray for the long life of Sultan Ibrahim; for, they say, our armies must needs miscarry during his reign, most of the officers being offended at his licentious life, and cruel actions. Besides, they tax him with profuseness, in that he has not spared the private treasury of gold, which, by the frugality of his predecessors, had been heaped together, and which it was not counted lawful for them to touch, unless in the utmost peril of the empire. They say, that by the additions which sultan Amurat had made, this treasure was augmented to above thirty millions of sequins; but that our present emperor has squandered most of it away on his pleasure. They compare him to Heliogabalus, the most effeminate prince that ever reigned; praising at the same time the



magnanimity and valour of Sultan Amurat, who, they say, was the stoutest man on earth: they highly applaud his bravery at the siege of Babylon, when he accepted the challenge of the Persian soldier; and entering into a single combat with the unhappy Redhead, at one blow, with his sabre, cleft him (though in armour) to the middle; in memorial whereof, thou knowest, that armour hangs to this day in the hazoda. In fine, they extol his justice, whereof he gave a remarkable instance, in punishing a certain hogia who had cheated a pilgrim of his jewels: Thou rememberest that passage. And the stone mortar, wherein that miserable wretch was pounded alive by his own sentence, is yet to be seen at the gate of the divan, a monument of his villany, and the sultan's justice.

These things are not unknown in the West; for the Nazarenes have their intelligences in the imperial city. Hence they derive occasions to censure or praise the actions of our august emperors, who are companions of the sun, and brothers of the stars.

What I have said, I trust to thy integrity, whereof I have had experience. Those who degenerate from that virtue, may their souls find no more rest in the other world than a Frenchman's hat has in this, which is always in motion. Adieu.

Paris, 15th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1647.

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III.—To MAHOMET TECHLI, *Bassa of Bosnia, at his Camp in Dalmatia.*

THOU art a fit man to lead the mussulman armies, who durst not hold up thy head against a few women: Perhaps thy mother's milk hangs yet on thy chin; thou

art not weaned from the discipline of the nursery.— Was the strong fortress of Sebenico of so small a price, that thou shouldst basely decamp from before it, because a few females appeared on the walls? Is this the way to aggrandize thy master? What will the Christians say to this cowardice? Nay, what do they not say already: The news of that siege had reached all parts of Europe; the Nazarenes were big with expectation of the event. Now they know it, they laugh both at thee and at all the mussulmans. Thou hast brought a disgrace on the most exalted empire in the world.

What if thou didst lose two thousand men before the walls of that fort? Is that a sufficient justification of thy raising the siege? Our glorious sultans do not use to win cities and castles without blood; neither do they spare to sacrifice the best part of their army to the honour of their arms, whilst our indefatigable soldiers have mounted on heaps of slaughtered spahis, and scaled the battlements of their enemies. Whereas, thou wert afraid of a few stones that the women hurled on thy men from the walls! Thou art more effeminate than Sardanapalus! It were fitter for thee to handle the distaff, and spin for thy bread, than to draw a sword in the field of honour. It is a wonder thy own soldiers do not abandon thee, being ashamed to serve under so weak a commander.

I counsel thee, speedily to recover thy lost reputation by some notable service. Let not perils affright thee; but remember that true fortitude surmounts all difficulties; and that thou canst not pass into the temple of honour but through that of virtue. It is not my part to project for thee: The whole country is before thee; thou knowest, or at least oughtest to know, the motions and strength of thy enemies. Do something speedily

that shall speak thee wise and valiant. Thou hadst better lose thy life so than by a bow-string.

Take this advice as a mark of my friendship, for Mahmut uses not so frankly to reprove those whom he esteems his enemies. Adieu.

Paris, 15th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1647.

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#### IV.—*To* ACHMET, *Bassâ*.

NOT long ago arrived here a courier from Swedcland, bringing letters from Queen Christina and Monsieur Chanut, the French resident at Stockholm.

Among other matters they give an account, that on the twenty-seventh day of the seventh moon, that great princess had like to have been stabbed in the midst of her guards, surrounded with her courtiers, before the altar of her God, at an hour when all the subjects of that kingdom were on their knees, to render Heaven propitious to her and the public.

That day there was a fast proclaimed through all Swedeland, and he was esteemed no good subject who did not repair to the public solemnities. The queen, to give an example, went at the third hour of the day to the mosque of her palace, attended by the great officers of state, and a numerous train of the nobility. When the preacher (as is the custom) had made an end of speaking, all that were present fell on their knees, to perform the appointed devotions. But it being the fashion of the Nazarenes to utter some secret preparative orisons, the men covered their faces with their hats to be more recollected.

While all eyes were thus veiled, a certain fellow,

snatching the opportunity, steps from his place, and, without making any great noise, by large strides, advances unseen to the rails which enclose the pavement next to the altar, where the queen was on her knees. But, in leaping over, he was perceived by a certain nobleman, who immediately cried out to the guards to stop the assassin. They crossed their partizans, but the villain hurled them one against another with so great violence, that while they were striving to recover their entangled weapons, he got quite through them. At which time the queen also raising herself up at the noise, pushed the captain of her guards, who kneeled beside her: He starting from his place, leaped between the queen and the murderer, who was now within two paces of her. He seizes the wretch; and, upon immediate search, they found two long sharp-pointed knives about him, without sheaths; one in his bosom, the other in his pocket. The prison being in the castle, or palace of the queen, under her very apartment, she was not willing he should be carried thither, but ordered him to be reconducted to his own chamber, which was in the college of Stockholm, he being an ecclesiastic of the said college; commanding also a good guard to be set over him, which was performed accordingly.

As soon as the wretch saw himself in his chamber, he said aloud, "That when he went out in the morning, he little thought of ever returning again, having undertaken an action, in doing which he expected to lose his life."

They used all diligence imaginable in discovering the authors of this intended murder, but could learn nothing more than that this fellow was a lunatic, whom at certain seasons an unaccountable fury spurred on to many extravagancies.

Yet some suspect that he was hired by the Lutheran clergy to give this execrable blow, who were apprehensive that the queen, hearkening too much to the insinuations of her tutor, who was a Calvinist, would innovate the established religion of the country.

If this be a well-grounded suspicion, it follows at the best, that religion, which ought to correct the morals of men, and have an influence in restraining their exorbitant passions, is become the corrupter of their manners, and the fomentor of the most enormous crimes. But this is common among the Christians, who being divided into innumerable parties, distinguished by as many several names, yet each sect is so sure that their way is the only right path to salvation, that they spare for neither murders, sacrileges, nor treasons, to proselyte the rest to their opinion, being unwilling that any should live who are not of the same mind with them.

The King of France, and the queen-regent, received the news of Queen Christina's delivery from this designed blow with much joy, the interests of both crowns being at this time closely intermingled.

I can inform thee of nothing more remarkable at present, save, that certain letters are intercepted, which the Duke of Bavaria had written to the Duke of Wirtemberg and the Elector of Cologne; the contents of which discover, that the Duke of Bavaria is not far from a reconciliation with the emperor; and that, in the mean time, he only waits the event of things to direct him in the choice of his party.

God confirm thee in thy integrity, that thou mayest never waver or swerve from the service and duty thou owest the Grand Signior.

Paris, 28th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1647.



## V.—To CARA HALI, a Physician at Constantinople.

THOU hast heaped many favours on me, yet I have never had an opportunity of making the least acknowledgment. Accept now a small present from Mahmut's hands, who being not master of wealth, can make no great ones. I send thee neither silver, gold, nor jewels, which the insatiable avarice of mortals has violently torn from the bowels of their common mother ; neither shalt thou receive from me any of the more familiar products of the earth, such as grow on her surface. Expect no choice fruits, or wine, or oil, nor any thing framed by the art of man, whether for delight or use. What I send thee is the dew of heaven, a certain quintessence of the elements, an ethereal spirit ; first condensed into a vapour, then into a more liquid substance, and afterwards congealed into a gum. It is the celebrated manna of Calabria.

Adonai the Jew sent it to me out of Italy, as a rarity. I knew not whom so properly to oblige with this present as the studious of natural things, Hali the sage physician, and my friend.

The philosopher Averroes, our countryman, has written much of this excellent substance. He calls it the food of the airy angels ; and says, the young ravens, crying in their nests, are nourished by this heavenly diet when the old ones forsake them ; and that the cameleons seek no other repast during their lives, but the invisible manna that every where floats in the morning air. He holds it possible, that a man, after he has passed his great climacter, may live without any other sustenance, save what he receives from this heavenly distillation ; that he may thus prolong his life for the space of seven years, which will complete the appointed age of mortals. Many of the sublimely instructed among the Arabians are

of the same opinion ; so are not a few of the Hebrew rabbis ; but the Christians, who are gluttons, laugh at this doctrine as ridiculous and impracticable, forgetting at the same time what they read in their bible (which they pretend is the rule of their faith), that the Israelites had nothing else to feed on for a considerable time in the desert, when they were almost eight hundred thousand souls, and the greatest part of them in their full strength, men of arms, and inured to the toils of war.

Certainly it were a desirable thing, that this divine largess were distributed to all the regions on earth. But God sends his blessings to whom, and when he pleases. It is he that directeth the clouds, when they move through the air, and rest not till they arrive at barren and dry places, where they pour forth their water to refresh the earth, and render it fruitful. God ! there is but one God, Lord of the worlds ! These are signs of his unity to true believers, but the incredulous have hardened their hearts.

It is recorded, that in former times, the ground whereon this manna descended, belonged to a certain nobleman of the country, who, covetous of the unusual blessing, undertook to enclose all that land with a high wall, to the end that so rare a gift might not be made common to every one ; but, as soon as the workmen had begun to lay the foundation of this enclosure, the manna ceased to fall, and so continued as long as they proceeded in that envious work ; which, when the lord of the ground was made sensible of, he commanded the workmen to desist, saying withal, “ The Almighty gives, and the Almighty takes away ; henceforward, I will not seek to restrain the free gift of Heaven.” Upon which, the manna descended daily, as before, and so has continued

to do ever since. Doubtless, this is a sign of God's omnipotence.

If thou wilt permit me to play the philosopher, I will tell thee my opinion, why this manna is seen rather in the kingdom of Naples than in any other region of the earth.

It is well known, that the earth of this country abounds with veins of sulphur, which are diffused up and down through all parts, and heat the soil to an extraordinary degree ; hence it follows, that the lower region of the air, in this country, must needs acquire a greater degree of heat and dryness also, being perpetually rarified by the fiery atoms, which every where transpire through the pores of the earth, as from a furnace.

This being so, it is not hard to conceive, that the vapours which are exhaled by the sun into the upper region, in the heat of a summer's day, and there become impregnated by the ethereal spirit (which remains pure and unclothed in those serener tracks, and consequently is apt to incorporate with any proper vehicle), naturally descend again in the cool of the night ; but not meeting with a congenious body of vapours in the lower region, that air being over purified, and grown defecate through the too near neighbourhood of the burning soil, so that they cannot diffuse themselves through the air for want of a fit medium, they consisting of homogeneous parts, and following the natural position of the element, and the laws of gravity, contract themselves into little globular forms, the lower they descend ; thus settling on the leaves of trees, on the grass and herbs, on stones, and any part of the earth, appearing like grains of transparent gum.

Hence also I conceive, that the same manna (which is nothing else but an ethereal spirit, embodied in light

and dulcid vapours) abounds in the air of most countries, but remains invisible, rarely so far condensed as to settle in a gross body on the ground, because the air of those regions is not so rarified as is that of Calabria, having no such subterranean fires to drink the vapours up; but being moist and thick, the descending manna, instead of contracting itself into globular bodies, and through its weight sinking to the earth, dilates itself, and incorporates with the floating vapours; just as if you pour drops of water into a vessel full of the same element, those drops do not sink to the bottom, but finding an homogeneous body, they mix with it, and are dispersed every way; whereas, if there be nothing in the way to stop them, they immediately fall to the ground.

But I shall tire thee with my philosophy, forgetting that I speak to a man consummate in all sciences. Adonai relates many remarkable passages of this country, too tedious for a letter. I will only tell thee, in short, that the kingdom of Naples is esteemed one of the most delectable regions on earth, the trees flourishing twice a year, and the soil abounding to prodigality with corn, wine, oil, and fruits, and all things necessary for the life of man. Yet the inhabitants have this proverb common among them; "The kingdom of Naples is a paradise of delights, but it is inhabited with devils;" so corrupted are the manners of the people.

Adieu, dear Hali, and think not Mahmut tedious in his letters, who has no other way, at this distance, to converse with his friends.

Paris, 19th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1647.

VI.—To KERKER HASSAN, *Bassa*.

WHEN this dispatch shall come to thy hands, be assured, that Mahmut thy countryman, and slave to the slaves of the Grand Signior, wishes thee multiplicity of happiness. I have many reasons to honour thee, besides the natural affection which is, or ought to be, between those who were born in the same region. The many favours thou hast done me, have far exceeded the obligation which arises from the vicinity of our birth; though that was so near, that a strong man would have measured the distance with one flight of an arrow.

The present of kophas, for which I returned thee thanks in my last, has wrought wonderful effects on me, being a perfect cure of the melancholy to which I was before subject. It has freed me from many distempers, and I owe the present ease and cheerfulness I enjoy to this generous gift.

Methinks, while I am drinking this excellent liquor, I am at Constantinople, conversing with my friends. It revives in me the genius of Asia, and so advantageously transforms the ideas of things which I see, that the crosses on the tops of the Christian temples appear to me as half moons; and my imagination presents to me turbans instead of hats, as men walk along the streets of Paris.

Doubtless, great is the force of what we eat or drink, which has occasioned all wise lawgivers, among other sanctions, to prescribe certain rules of diet; and the care of our holy prophet has been exquisite in this point, his prohibitions extending to all unclean meats and drinks, since they deprave the constitutions of men, and incline them to vice. But by his own example, he recommended to us the use of this admirable berry, imposing a



new name on the tree that bears it, when he called it, the tree of purification. Hence it is, that all the mussulmans affect to partake of the sanctified benefit, it being the universal beverage of the Osman empire.

Were the virtues of it known in these western parts, it would match, if not supplant, the credit of their wines, since it equally refreshes the spirits, without intoxicating the brain.

I know not whether thou hast seen Pesteli Hali, my brother, since thy return from Arabia, or whether thou hast heard the news he brought with him out of the East. He has surveyed the Indies, Tartary, China, Tunquin, Persia, and other regions, whose names are hardly known in some parts of the Ottoman empire. Indeed, we have formerly had but an odd idea of those remote countries; but especially China has been hid from the greatest part of the earth.

In my earlier years, I have heard men of gravity, who would be taken for knowing persons, say, that China was but a tributary province of the Tartars, a contemptible corner of Asia, and so barren, as it could hardly afford sustenance for its inhabitants, which is a sign it is well peopled. Assuredly our fathers were ignorant of this country, which, after the perpetual monarchy of the Osmans, may be esteemed the second empire on earth.

My brother says, it contains sixteen provinces, each as large as a kingdom, and that all together they fill up a track of ground as big as Europe, which thou knowest is one of the four quarters of the world, and that this vast dominion contains above an hundred millions of inhabitants.

The emperor who reigned when Pesteli Hali was there, was called Zunchin, a young prince, not above thirty

years of age, in whose veins ran the blood of sixteen emperors, his progenitors.

In the year 1640, two great officers in his army, having drawn to their party an innumerable company of the foldiers, and being encouraged by some grandees at the court, made a revolt. The names of these rebels were Lycungz and Changien. They soon became masters of five provinces; but, quarrelling about their shares, Lycungz caused his associate to be poisoned; and taking on himself the sole command of the rebels, was proclaimed by them emperor of China. After which, he marched directly with his whole forces against Peking, a city where the emperor kept his court, knowing that the conquest of this place would secure to him all the remaining provinces of the empire.

The Chinese are reputed a most ingenious people, excelling in all manner of mechanic inventions, and the boldest architects in the world. They build bridges from one mountain to another, to shorten the travellers journey over the plain between them, and raise towers almost up to the clouds. Some of their cities are said to be near thirty leagues in compass, having double walls and ditches; and my brother says, that Peking wants not much of this extent; and that the palace of the emperor is near a league in circuit, environed by three walls and as many moats, besides bulwarks and other fortifications. He adds, that this mighty city and palace is guarded by an hundred thousand soldiers.

This impregnable place the rebels took by stratagem, which was able to have resisted all the force of Asia. Lycungz held a private correspondence with several grandees within the town and palace; by whose connivance he sent great numbers of the stoutest men in his army, disguised in the habit of merchants, who lodging them-

selves in divers quarters of the city, on a day appointed, suddenly appeared in arms, and surprising the guards who defended the gates, slew them all, and opened the gates to the rebels.

Who can express the confusion and slaughter that filled all parts of the city with mourning and blood? The barbarous conqueror sacrificed all the loyal and brave to his unpardonable ambition; disarmed those who escaped the first massacre; and having made himself absolute master of the city, lays a close siege to the imperial palace.

The emperor, now finding that he was betrayed, and that it was too late to defend himself from the cruel persecution and insult of the traitors, takes advantage of the short resistance which some of his faithful servants made, to consult his own honour, with that of the empress and his daughter. He had above three thousand wives, for whom he could not provide in that flood of calamities, all his care being employed to prevent the last triumph of his enemies, in not suffering the royal blood to be shed by the profane hands of those villains. He entered into the gardens of the palace, accompanied only by his empress and daughter, with three faithful eunuchs. The young princess (who was a lady educated in all the Chinese learning) seeing the great affliction of her royal parents, the inevitable ruin of their family, and the universal desolation, fell on her knees, and spoke to her father as follows:

“ My Lord,

“ Since it is the will of the immortal gods thus to extinguish the lustre and majesty of our sublime race, let their decrees be fulfilled; but let not me be a spectator of my parents fall, or survive a tragedy at which the earth itself must tremble. Have this compassion on my

tender years, and let these eyes be closed, before death seal up yours, from which mine borrowed all their light: Think not, because I am young, I fear to die: I long to see our kindred gods, and represent the fate of China, so as to provoke their speedy vengeance. Surely our deified ancestors, at my complaint, would gather all the thunder in the heavens, and shower it down upon these perjured and ungrateful traitors; or else they would play the chemists, and extract the most envenomed influence of the stars, and dart the heavenly poison on the rebels, as they lie before these sacred walls, and thus would put a period to their cursed treason. Make no delay, my royal father, but try the experiment; release me from these chains, which hinder my escape to paradise; and let me be the herald of such news as never before surprised the blessed above."

The emperor, moved with this passionate address of his daughter, drew a dagger from his girdle, and therewith stabbed her to the heart; and then, struck with remorse at so unnatural a deed, covered his face with a veil of silk: Thus acting Agamemnon's part, when, to fulfil the oracle, he sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia.

After this, the empress, overwhelmed with so many sorrows, retired into a grove, and hanged herself with a silken cord on a tree. The emperor, seeing this mournful spectacle, was resolved no longer to delay his own death; wherefore, following her example, he dispatched himself likewise by a string. But he first bit a vein, and with his blood writ the following words:

"What is there now desirable on earth, after I am thus betrayed by my own subjects? I accuse not the inferior people; they are innocent: It is to the man-

darins I owe my sudden fall, with the ruin of this mighty empire. Behold in me the royal line extinct. I am the last of sixteen emperors. I, that was lord of so many spacious regions, guardian of the bed-chamber of the sun, sole monarch of the orient, lieutenant to the gods of the mines, possessor of infinite treasures, at whose name an hundred millions of my subjects touched the ground with their foreheads, am now ready to be trampled under foot by the basest of my slaves. But I will prevent my own disgrace, and carry this majestic soul inviolate to my renowned fathers, whose vengeance, joined with that of all the gods, shall fall on the perfidious mandarins, who have betrayed both me and this exalted state to ruin."

A narrative of these mournful passages was printed in the Chinese language, supposed to be done by the order of the emperor's attendants, who followed him into the garden, and were witnesses of what was said and done; a copy of which my brother procured to be translated into Arabic, by a merchant of our nation, who understood the Chinese language, and resided in Peking.

In fine, my brother says, that when he departed from China, he left the tyrant Lycungz in possession of the emperor's palace, where he found an hundred millions of ingots in gold and silver, besides an inestimable treasure of pearls and precious stones; all which wealth had been heaped together by the frugality of the Chinese emperors.

By this thou mayest take an estimate of the grandeur and strength of this formidable monarchy, of which we have had such contemptible notions. Neither shalt thou have occasion to be surpris'd at the monstrous rise and fortune of this rebel, who in so short a time was lifted



to the height of human sovereignty, when thou confiderest, that all things are subject to vicissitude and change.

That God, who establishes whom he pleases on the thrones of the earth, and, at the determined period of empires, deposes such as trust in their strength and riches, defend our sovereign from treasons, and from the arrows that fly in obscurity.

Paris, 13th of the 13th Moon, of the Year 1647.

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#### VII.—*To DARNISH MEHEMET, Bassa.*

WHAT obligation have I to be concerned for the infidels? or what interest in the uncircumcised? Yet Nature has tied all our race in some common bonds of affection, and humanity teaches us to rejoice at the deliverance of the oppressed.

The kingdom of Naples has long groaned under the yoke of Spanish tyranny. The labour of the people sufficed not to pay the unreasonable taxes that were imposed on them. They sweat blood to become yet more miserable; whilst their cruel masters, having fleeced them to nakedness, would take advantage of their poverty to rivet their chains yet deeper, and render their servitude past redemption.

The people were sensible of their calamity, yet knew not how to shake off the yoke. It had galled them to the nerves and sinews; their strength was gone. Despair of redress had rendered them supine, and took from them the very power of meditating their recovery. But Heaven, which protects the oppressed, has raised up a youth from among the meanest of the people, to assert

the public liberty. A fisherman, who has not seen four-and-twenty winters, has undertaken to restore the ancient privileges of the Neapolitans. Who can penetrate into the methods of eternal destiny, which makes use of so contemptible instruments to check the power of the greatest monarchs ?

This bold youth, inspired with a zeal for the public, ran one day into the streets, crying with a loud voice, “ Long live the King of Spain, but let the corrupt officers perish.” He had no other weapon, save a reed in his hand, but was soon followed by a multitude of boys and young men, with clubs and staves, who went along the streets of that populous city, repeating the cry after him, “ Long live the King of Spain, but let the corrupt officers perish.” At first, the citizens laughed at the infant tumult, but in less than two hours, this fisherman (whose name was Massaniello) had enrolled above two thousand boys.

The next day his numbers increased, by the accession of all sorts of lewd and idle persons, malcontents, debtors, and such as were desirous of novelty. Nay, some of the better sort of citizens shut up their shops, took arms, and mingled with the popular insurrection ; so that ere mid-day there were above ten thousand men and boys marching along the streets, and burning the custom-houses, with all their books of accounts, throughout the city.

When Massaniello beheld himself at the head of so vast a multitude, he thought it time to declare the reason of his raising this tumult ; wherefore, getting on an eminent place in one of the markets, he spoke to his followers to this effect :

“ Rejoice, O ye faithful people, and send up accla-

mations to the God of Heaven, who hath this day put it into your hearts and hands to be your own redeemers. As for me, my spirit burneth within me to see the public oppression; and I set no value on my life, when I first began this glorious enterprise. One of the princes threatened me with the galleys if I persisted; but here are thousands my witnesses, that, instead of fearing him, I smote him on the breast, and sent him away joyful that he escaped with his life. O ye faithful people, trust not the princes or nobles; they are the men who oppress you, and would enslave you; trust in your arms, and the justice of your cause. God has brought you together; let nothing separate you till you have freed your country, yourselves, your wives and children, from perpetual servitude. Choose you a leader, a man of courage and resolution, who is willing to sacrifice his life for the common good. As for me, I have hitherto lived a fisherman, and so I intend to die."

The people, exceedingly moved with this speech, chose him with one accord for their leader, crying out with loud acclamations, "Long live Massaniello, the Patron of the Neapolitan liberties."

The first thing he did after he was confirmed in this authority, was to set open the prisons, and enlist the prisoners under the banner of the people.

Then he divided this confused army into regiments and companies; and sent forth a proclamation throughout Naples, commanding all to take arms, on pain of having their houses burned; so that in a little time he had above fifty thousand armed men at his heels.

Thus accompanied, he marches directly toward the viceroy's palace, vested in cloth of silver, with a naked

sword in his hand. He was accompanied by a cardinal, who undertook to be a mediator between the viceroy and the people. His presence restrained the multitude within some bounds of moderation, for they revered him as the father of the city. Yet they burned above sixty palaces of the nobles to the ground, with all their furniture and goods; and it was present death for any one to rescue or purloin any thing from the flames; so rigorously just was this new lawgiver, this Moses of the Neapolitans. It was in vain for the viceroy to oppose force against so formidable an insurrection: He entertained the young fisherman with ceremonies due to a prince; and having concluded a truce, gave him the title of Chief Tribune of the faithful people. This increased the veneration the citizens had already conceived for Massaniello; so that in a day or two more he saw himself at the head of an hundred and fifty thousand armed men. He gave out all orders for the republic, published new edicts, and all commissions were issued in his name. He procured the gabels to be for ever abolished, restored the people to their ancient liberty; and, in fine, was murdered by his own followers.

Let me not seem an advocate for sedition, when I tell thee there was something brave and heroic in the actions of this youth. So strange a revolution, in so short a time, has scarce been heard of in the world: For a beardless slave to raise himself in six days to as absolute and uncontrollable a sovereignty as the greatest monarch on earth enjoys; to be obeyed by an infinite number of people, without the least hesitation or demur, were it for life or death; and all this without any motive of ambition or interest, but only to assert the public liberty, is a convincing argument of his virtue, and shows that Heaven approved his enterprise. But then, again, for him to lose

all this power in four days more, to be murdered in cold blood by his own party, by the people whose cause he had so successfully vindicated ; this shows the instability of human affairs, and that there is nothing permanent on this side the moon.

I pray God to inspire the ministers of the Sublime Porte to take such measures as may preserve the mussulman peace. Adieu.

Paris, 13th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1647.

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VIII.—*To SOLYMAN, his Cousin, at Constantinople.*

WHEN I closed up my last, the hour of the post was near expired, and the messenger who carries my letters to him, hastened my dispatch, preventing what I had farther to say to thee.

I am solicitous for thy welfare, both as thou art a mussulman and so near a relation. Do not forfeit those titles, by degenerating from thy kindred, and from all the illuminated of God. Truth is comprised in a little room, but error is infinite. Thou makest a wrong inference from the moderation and charity of the true believers, when thou concludest, That because they believe, it shall go well with all honest men, let their opinions and ceremonies be what they will ; therefore thou shalt be safe, in retrenching the endless and burdensome washings (as thou termest them) of the mussulmans, so long as thou leadest a good moral life.

Art thou such a friend to idleness and impurity, that thou wilt, by a most pitiful sophistry, cheat thyself of salvation, rather than take the pains to wash thyself, after the manner, and at the times appointed by the prophet of God, and practised by our fathers, and all the faith-



ful throughout the world? If it be allowed, that such as, either out of ignorance, or hindered by some other invincible cause, do not embrace our holy law, are not circumcised, and repair not to the assemblies of the faithful, shall nevertheless enter into paradise, provided they obey the law of nature, imprinted on their hearts; does it follow, therefore, that one who has been bred up in the undefiled faith, who has been circumcised, and, lifting up his right hand to Heaven, has pronounced the seven mysterious words, which cannot be repealed; does it follow, I say, that such an one shall be regarded by God or his prophet, any otherwise than as a heretic or an infidel, if he live not up exactly to the graces that have been given him? No, assure thyself, if thou art in the number of these, thou art an apostate; thy virtues are vices, and all thy good works are an abomination.

Remember the piety and magnanimous zeal of Assan Hali thy grandfather, who, when he was taken prisoner by the Cossacks, was entertained with extreme rigour and severity. Nevertheless, a certain Jew in the city who knew him, brought him every day, by permission of the keeper, as much water as would suffice to wash him, and to quench his thirst. But one day, as he went with his accustomed load, and was entering the gate of the prison, the keeper, either out of malice or wantonness, spilt most of the water on the ground, forbidding the Jew, at the same time, to bring any more that day.

The honest Hebrew went in with the remainder of the water, and delivered it to the prisoner, who presently prepared to wash himself, after the accustomed manner of the mussulmans. The Jew seeing that, told him, there was not water enough to quench his thirst; and therewith related to him what the keeper had done. "I see there is but a little (replied the virtuous old man),

but he that drinks, or eats, before he has washed himself, is guilty of defiling his soul, and is not worthy to be numbered among the true believers. Therefore it is better for me to die for thirst, than violate the law brought down from Heaven, and transgress the traditions of my fathers." Having said this, he washed himself, being resigned to Providence.

Cousin, deceive not thyself with vain opinions, nor suffer hypocrites to seduce thee. Imitate the adder, and stop thy ears against the crafty insinuations of heretics. It is reported of this little serpent, that, by natural instinct, being sensible when a magician is about to utter words, which being heard will ensnare it, lays one ear close to the ground, and with its tail stops the other, to the end the enchantment may have no effect.

Admit not any man to thy conversation, who shall attempt to warp thee from the simplicity of the faith, and obedience which thou owest to the apostle of God. Without water, there is no purity on this side the grave. That element has a force in it of which thou art not aware; it is the third in the rank of living principles; it is the tabernacle of the winds; the seraglio of the generative spirit; the stage of wonders: in fine, it is the purifier of every thing that has breath.

Thou knowest, that to serve the necessities of the prophet and his army, understanding and speech was given to a fountain in Arabia, which having promised to follow him to the place of his repose, made a channel through the desert, and kept pace with the troops of the faithful, till they came to Medina Talnabi, that so the submissive to the will of Heaven might not want that element, without which life itself would be a burden and a curse.

And yet thou speakest contemptibly of water, as a

very indifferent thing, whether we use it or not, any otherwise than to quench our thirst.

Thus, making no difference between the many advantages we reap from that element, and that common use to which the beasts put it. In how many places of the Alcoran does the Holy Prophet record the mercy of God, in giving us water that is fresh and not salt ! How does he celebrate his wisdom and goodness, for directing the clouds to barren and dry places ! Thou canst not be ignorant, that it is one of the encomiums of paradise, that there are gardens wherein flow many rivers. And after all this, wilt thou despise so holy and blessed a gift, without which, earth and heaven, men and angels, could not be completely happy ?

Go learn then of the Indian idolaters, who have never heard of the book of glory ; go learn of these barbarians, to prize this sanctified creature. They travel many hundreds of leagues to bathe themselves in the waters of Ganges. With those incorruptible and all-purging streams, the Bramins fill certain vessels, and transport the invaluable liquor to the utmost parts of that wide empire. They travel on foot, sometimes two thousand miles together, each man with his load of that precious water, to supply the wants of those who live so remote from the river ; so that a bottle of it is many times sold to the princes and nobles for two hundred sequins, or eight hundred rupees ; and yet for all this, those very princes would not die with a safe conscience, had they not at least once in their lives made a pilgrimage to this renowned river, and bathed themselves in the waves which blot out sins.

O cousin, let the example of these infidels make thee blush at thy impiety, and excite thee to a diligent and indispensable practice of cleanness ; so shalt thou have a

found mind, in a healthy body, and the angel of thy nativity will not shun thy person. Adieu.

Paris, 7th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1647.

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IX.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

THE defeat of the Venetians and Morlacks in Bosna has reached these parts. That news is not unwelcome to Mahmut: But I could wish our general had used his victory with more moderation. The Christians term him barbarian, savage, devil incarnate, and load him with execrations; for, having taken prisoner the captain of the Morlacks, he caused him to be flayed alive, and afterwards to be impaled. This captain was an ecclesiastic; they call him Stephano Sorich; and, in honour of his zeal and fidelity, they entitle him, the Good Priest. They applaud his magnanimity and courage in battle, and no less do they extol his constancy, during the torments of so cruel and ignominious a death: But I tremble to think of the blasphemies and curses they utter against our holy Prophet, and all the mussulmans: For this cruel execution has scandalized the Nazarenes, and embittered them, even to fury. Their revenge is implacable; they would go to hell themselves, provided the true faithful might be damned for company.

What will our divine lawgiver say? or what apology will our general make, when the sent of God shall charge him with driving so many thousand souls into an irreconcilable hatred of the undefiled faith? For they look not on this as the action of a private man, but of one who represents the person of our august sovereign, the great protector of the law brought down from Heaven.

They suppose him to be honoured with the particular instructions of his master ; and therefore they say the sultan has authorised this unheard-of cruelty, and that our religion countenances tyranny, and the most nefarious method of shedding innocent blood.

I am no advocate for infidels ; yet suffer me to vindicate Nature, which is the common parent of us all ; suffer me to be solicitous for the honour of our holy profession, which is blemished by this inhumane murder. What offence had this unhappy captain given, that deserved so dire a punishment ? Was it because he fought valiantly, and performed wonders in defence of his country ? This is nothing but what becomes every honest man to do ; and, had our general been truly brave, he would have entertained his prisoner with a respect due to his merit.

Who was a more inveterate enemy of the Mussulmans than the renowned Ischenderbeg, Prince of Albania ? Who more valiant or successful against the Ottoman armies ? It is recorded of him, that he never shunned a battle, never fled from his enemies, never shrunk from perils, nor was ever wounded but once in all his life ; and yet he sustained a continual war from two successive Osman emperors, defeated seven viziers with their forces, took all their ammunition and baggage, and, in several combats, slew with his own hands above two thousand Mahometans.

Our fathers did not basely revenge themselves for all this, but cherished a veneration for this heroic enemy, and honoured the very dust of such an extraordinary person ; for, after his death, having conquered Albania, they sought out his tomb, where they performed their devotions, as at the sepulchre of a prophet ; they opened the dormitory of the deceased warrior, and, with religious solemnity, took up his bones, sharing the honour.



ed relics among them, and wrapping them in silk, wore them continually at their breasts, esteeming them as sacred amulets against misfortune.

Surely our general would blush at an example of so great virtue ; but perhaps he was incensed, because his captive was a priest ; mistaken zeal might prompt him to this horrid butchery. Thou, who art Justice itself, wilt not approve his bloody passion, when thou considerest, that the priests of Jesus are men as well as others, and, if they live in error, the fault is in their education. However, many of them are humble, chaste, sober, and lovers of virtue. If there be others, whose corrupt lives have contradicted this character, let the crime and the punishment rest on their heads ; it is not reasonable that the innocent should suffer for the faults of the guilty. The captain of the Morlacks had the reputation of a devout and just man, and a stout champion for his country ; had he been taken for a spy, or an assassin, the law of arms would have adjudged him to death.—Yet such was the clemency of Porfenna, King of the Hettrurians, that when Mutius Scævola, a valiant Roman, came into his camp, with design to murder him, but by mistake stabbed one of the captains, thinking it had been Porfenna, and, to revenge that miscarriage on himself, thrust his hand into the fire, till the flesh was consumed to the bones ; the king, astonished at his undaunted spirit, sent him away in peace, raised the siege of Rome, and entered into a strict friendship with that nation ; such honour he bore to the fortitude of his enemy, and designed murderer. But the captain of the Morlacks was not taken under these circumstances ; he lost his liberty in the heat of battle, bravely combating at the head of his army.

Wouldst thou know the grounds then of our general's cruelty ? It was purely for the sake of a jest. There

went a report, that when this priest was born, his body was all over raw, so that the physicians were forced, by art, to supply him with a skin. Our cruel general, to sport himself in the poor man's misery, commanded him to be flayed alive; uttering at the same time this inhuman sarcasm, "There was no reason that he should carry a skin out of the world, who brought none in." This is attested by two gentlemen who were made prisoners with their captain, heard these words, saw him executed, and afterwards made their escape.

The Nazarenes vow to revenge this unparalleled cruelty on all the mussulmans that fall into their hands, if this butcher (as they term him) be suffered to go unpunished. I tell thee, such barbarous actions draw down the vengeance of Heaven on those that commit them, and excite the very beasts of the earth to make war, and rid the world of such monsters.

Thou knowest what use to make of this intelligence; I will not pretend to instruct the second minister in the Ottoman empire.

Paris, 7th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1647.

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#### X.—*To the MUFTI.*

IF there be any truth in what the astrologers tell us, that the stars have influence on the governments of the earth, one would think that Spain lies under some malignant aspect.

The fortune of that kingdom has for a long time run retrograde: They have had nothing but losses by sea and land; the revolution in Portugal, the revolt of Catalonia and Roussillon, the loss of Ormus in Persia, and the de-

fection of Goa, with other rich towns of traffic in the Indies, came one upon the back of another.

Since which there have been many towns and castles taken from the Spaniards in Flanders. The French made an insurrection in Palermo, breaking open the prisons, and releasing the prisoners; and grew to such a head, that the viceroy, fearing they would revenge the tragedy of the Sicilian vespers, to pacify the multitude, was forced to repeal the edicts for taxes, and disannul them for ever, and to pass an act of general indemnity, both to the rabble, and to the prisoners whom they had freed.

This tumultuous spirit passed from thence to the kingdom of Naples, and there, like an infection, soon spread itself through all parts, both of city and country: Two hundred thousand men took up arms, to vindicate the privileges of the Neapolitans, under the conduct of a poor young fisherman. I have already transmitted to the Sublime Porte, a relation of this formidable sedition, wherein it may be thought, I have discovered too much tenderness to the infidels, and seemed to favour the violence of a faction. But I hope thou wilt acquit me, when thou considerest, that these governments of the Nazarenes are not to be compared to the sacred Osman empire, which is established by a divine right; it having been determined by the angel, that he who should possess the glorious dormitory of the sent of God, should be intitled, "The sovereign of all the kings on earth." Therefore it would be a crime of the highest nature, to raise a tumult or sedition within the territories of our august emperor, whose dominion is confirmed to him for ever by a patent from Heaven. But the case of the Nazarene princes is different, who being professed enemies to the messenger of God, have no other right to any thing, but what their swords purchase; and, therefore,

when they prey upon others, and by rapine and spoil augment their riches, it is no wonder if the great Avenger of crimes stirs up some undaunted spirits to free their country from slavery and ruin.

Those who are curious have remarked many observable circumstances in this revolution at Naples; as, that it was foretold by an astrologer, a considerable time before it happened, who pointed out the very year wherein it should come to pass. The extraordinary eruptions also of Mount Vesuvius, some years ago, were esteemed as presages of some approaching troubles in the state; for it rained ashes on the city of Naples. I spoke of this mountain in one of my former letters.

It is reported also, that about the same hour wherein Massaniello, the ringleader of the seditious, was murdered, there was seen a man hovering in the air, over the principal temple of Naples, with a sword in his hand, which he was putting up in his scabbard; and that a voice was at the same time heard from on high, to utter these words, "His labour is finished, give him rest."

This is certain, that whilst he was at the head of an hundred thousand men, seven assassins were hired by some of the princes to shoot him; yet none of the bullets could penetrate his body, though unarmed, and only covered with his fishing rags; and it was evident, that these bullets smote him in divers places, his garments being marked with them, and he staggered with the force of the blows.

These are extraordinary occurrences, and would tempt one to believe, that this young fisherman was the instrument of providence, and that Heaven protected both him and his cause.

It is true, indeed, it seemed at last as if he were abandoned by that divine power, which had carried him through

so important an enterprize, in that he was slain by his own foldiers. But then it must be remembered, that this was not done till his work was finished, and he went beyond his commission. Want of sleep, the multitude of affairs, and much wine; had impaired his reason, and rendered him frantic; so that his actions were insupportable, and his own admirers grew weary of him. After his death, his head was cut off, and carried up and down the streets on a lance, and his body was dragged through the kennels. Yet the very next day, the multitude, to show their own fickleness, took the dead body out of a ditch, where they had laid it all night; they washed and embalmed it, and having joined the head to it, carried it with great pomp and solemnity to the principal temple of Naples, attended with drums and trumpets, and above a thousand priests, with torches in their hands; a crown of gold was put on his head, and a sceptre in his hand.

Thus the Neapolitans honoured that beardless youth, who in ten days time had caused such a revolution, as is scarce to be paralleled, for he was an absolute monarch in effect, during that time; and of him it may be said, as it was once of an emperor, that during his whole reign there was neither spring, nor autumn, nor winter, for his royalty begun and ended in the seventh moon.

By letters from Nathan Ben Saddi at Vienna, I perceive he is molested with scruples about his religion, being desirous to build upon the surest foundation. I sent him the best advice I could, without making myself a hypocrite, which, thou knowest, is more offensive to God, than an open sinner. I drew up an abstract of the musulman records, and presented him with the faithful genealogy, from Ismael, the son of the patriarch Ibrahim, down to our holy Prophet. This I did to rectify an old



inherent error of the Jews, who boast, that only the sons of Isaac were true believers. I endeavoured not to profelyte him by sophistry and artifice, but referred him for better satisfaction to the writings of the ancients. I promised to furnish him with books of our law, and the comments of our holy doctors. This is impossible for me to perform, whilst I am in this place, unless thou, who art a guide of those who seek the truth, vouchsafest to second my zeal. I address to thee, sovereign prelate of the faithful, in behalf of a descendant from the younger brother of Ismael, in behalf of one circumcised, but not in the right way; favour him with thy divine instructions, and supply him with treatises of light and reason. A seasonable application may bring this Hebrew into the number of the Mussulmans, for he is already disgusted at the synagogue.

But if I have presumed too far, in endeavouring to snatch a soul from the paws of Tagot, correct me in thy wisdom, for I am but as an infant before thee.

Paris, 15th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1648.

XI.—[*The beginning of this Letter is wanting in the Italian Translation, the original paper being torn.*]

— — — — — All men's hearts are filled with joy, for this prosperous news, whilst I mourn for the dishonour of our arms. Nothing but sad tidings grate my ears from those parts, and more melancholy presages possess my soul. Methinks I see thick clouds gathering over the imperial city; my sleep is disturbed with fearful visions; I start in my bed, and, waking, lay my hand on my sword, as if some danger were at hand; I dream of tumults and disorders, neighing of horses and clashing

of arms in the streets of Constantinople. I pray God avert the omen.

It is reported here, that Ali, the Sangiac-bey of Lip-pa, is taken prisoner, and that his son was tormented to death before his face, in a manner peculiar to the invention of the most barbarous tyrants ; for they caused sharp thorns to be thrust between his nails and his flesh, which creates an intolerable anguish ; they laid him on a bed of iron spikes, and poured melted lead, drop by drop, on all parts of his flesh ; then they made a small fire, and roasted him slowly to death : if he chanced to groan, or make the least complaint, in the midst of those grievous tortures, they bid him remember the good priest Sorech, who set him an example of constancy and courage, in that he never shed a tear, or so much as sighed, when he was flayed alive.

Thou seest that revenge is sweet, even to those who having received no injury in their own persons, yet are touched to the quick with the violence that is done to another. This will appear in the humour of the Italians, who prosecute their enemies with irreconcilable hatred and malice, whole families being often engaged in executing the resentments of two single persons, who first began the quarrel. But much more forcible is this passion in those who have been notoriously hurt themselves ; and the revenge of a certain captain was extravagant, who, being informed that his general had debauched his wife, took an opportunity to single him out from all other company, pretending to walk in the fields ; when he had him there alone, he clapped a pistol to his breast, threatening to kill him forthwith if he moved hand or foot. Then he upbraided him with what he had done, in such language, as convinced the general his life was in extreme danger ; wherefore he humbled himself, and confessed his crime,

begging of the captain to spare his life, and he would prefer him forthwith to the best office in the army, next his own. But the furious Italian would not sell his honour so cheap: He forced him to deny God, and utter many blasphemies, in hopes of saving his life; and when he had thus done, the captain said, Now my revenge is complete, since I shall send thee body and soul to the devil. With that he pistolled him.

But leaving these infidels to their diabolical passions, I am concerned at the captivity of thy brother, if it be true which is related here, that he was taken in his return from Canea to Constantinople. It will cost the Bassa of Algiers a thousand crowns to ransom him.

Adieu, Renarba; and if thou art desirous to raise thyself, take that method which I have now proposed to thee. God be propitious to thy endeavours.

Paris, 4th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1648.

## XII.—*To the Venerable MURTI.*

THOU wilt say the Neapolitans are a restless people, when thou shalt know that there have been no less than forty general insurrections in this kingdom, since its first separation from the Grecian empire, whereof it was formerly a member; and that, in the space of two years, they have had five kings, all of different nations.

One would have thought, that after the death of Masfaniello, the ring-leader of the late innovation, the popular heats would have slackened, and the people returned to their duty; but the passionate desire of liberty caused them to continue in arms, till the confirmation of their privileges should come from the king of Spain.

In the mean time, Don John of Austria, who lay before the city with a fleet of fifty galleons, played upon them incessantly with his cannon by sea, and the castles battered them by land.

Cardinal Mazarini, who has the earliest intelligence of foreign transactions, has had a principal hand in fomenting this flame; for as soon as the news of Massaniello's death arrived here, he dispatched away couriers to Rome, with instructions to the French ambassador at that court, requiring him to use all possible means to cherish the tumults in Naples, and not neglect so fair an opportunity of reducing that kingdom under the protection of France.

It will not appear strange, that this great genius should aim at the conquest of Naples, when we consider, that this kingdom abounds in all manner of riches; to which its fortunate situation contributes not a little, for it lies in the most temperate part of the world; and the inhabitants are not second to any people of Europe in martial courage and bravery. This is a bait which tempts the cardinal, who is not ignorant how valiantly the ancestors of the present Neapolitans behaved themselves in the wars of Cæsar and Pompey, and those between the Romans and Carthaginians; nor are they less celebrated for the stout resistance they made against the Huns, Goths, and Vandals; so that this kingdom, were it once brought under the French dominion, would prove a nursery, from whence this monarch might draw many thousands of excellent soldiers, to serve him in his wars.

Besides, it would be more commodious for him to make incursions from hence into the Pope's territories, if there should arise any difference between the two courts, as there often do, about the rights of the Gallican church, the franchises of the ambassadors of this crown in Rome, and other privileges, to which they pretend.

Therefore, the French ambassador, according to the instructions of Mazarini, sent commissioners to treat privately with the people of Naples, offering them two millions of crowns, twenty galleons, with eight-and-fifty galleys, and other vessels: They accepted the proposal, being weary of the Spanish government, and desirous of novelty, encouraged also by what those commissioners represented to them, concerning the success of the English, who, by standing on their guard, and using that power which God and nature had given them, for the defence of their lives and liberties, were now, in a manner, become a free people, having abolished the monarchy, and set up a commonwealth; and this they told them was also done by Cardinal Mazarini's counsels and assistance. Now all the cry in Naples was, Let France and the people of England flourish; and let the faithful Neapolitans assert their own liberty. So blind were these people, as not to consider, that in putting themselves under the protection of the French, they did but exchange one bondage for another, it being impossible for any foreign prince to keep this kingdom, and pay all his officers, civil and military, together with those under their commands, with much less charge than the revenues amount to: And the French are as good at inventing new taxes, as any court in Europe.

However, the Neapolitans were enchanted with the thoughts of so much gold, and other assistance offered by the French commissioners, and sweetened with their fair words, and glorious promises; so that they immediately sent deputies, to entreat the Duke of Guise, who was then at Rome, to come and protect them, in taking on him the chief command of their arms.

This prince, thinking it a generous action to relieve the oppressed, and that at the same time he should do a con-



considerable service to the king of France, in rendering him master of this noble and opulent kingdom, went to Naples, where at first he was received with infinite applause, was made their general, took an oath of fidelity to the people, did many notable services, but was in the end betrayed, and sent prisoner to Spain.

If the generosity and brave resolution of this prince has acquired commendation from some, in attempting to rescue these people from the tyranny of their governors, yet his conduct is called in question by others, who say, he discovered but little prudence in trusting himself to the Neapolitans, who had already sacrificed two of their generals: For, after the death of Massaniello, they chose another captain, whom they called the Prince of Massa; this prince falling under their suspicion, was beheaded by the inconstant people.

It is certain, that there is little confidence to be put in the multitude, whose passions ebb and flow, and are more tempestuous than the sea. Yet a brave and generous mind will shun no dangers to serve his prince and his country, for whom it is a glorious martyrdom to die. There is no great undertaking without hazards, and he that is afraid to venture his liberty and life in a good cause, is not worthy to bear arms. Had the Duke of Guise succeeded, his conquest of Naples had made him viceroy of one of the largest kingdoms in Europe. It is said to be five hundred leagues in circuit, containing twelve ample provinces; twenty archbishopricks; bishopricks, one hundred twenty-seven; thirty castles; barons, one thousand four hundred; earls, fifty-three; forty marquisses; thirty-four dukes, and twenty princes. The inhabitants of this kingdom are said to be above two millions. The ordinary revenues of the king amount to three millions of crowns yearly, besides the voluntary do-

natives which have been given by the subjects of this state to their kings, within the space of forty years, amounting to twenty-eight millions, and six hundred thousand ducats. This kingdom is watered by an hundred and fifty rivers, besides ten lakes stored with all manner of fish ; among which is one called Averno, over which if any birds fly, they immediately drop down dead. The ancient Pagans had strange opinions of this lake, it being the place where they used to sacrifice men to the infernal gods ; and hard by is the cave of one of the Sibyls.

There are thirty high mountains in this country, of which Adonai relates many strange and delightful passages, (for it is from him I received this account of the kingdom). I will not trouble thee with a repetition of all that this Jew tells me, only one thing is worthy of remark.

He says, that the bodies of the three young Hebrews, who were put into the burning oven by the Babylonian monarch, because they would not adore his idols, are preserved in a mosque on one of these mountains ; and that on the said hill, no eggs, flesh, or milk, will endure an hour without putrefaction, but presently breed an infinite number of worms. He speaks in the praise of these mountains, which are clothed with vineyards, gardens, and woods, on the top and sides ; and in their bottoms have very rich mines of gold, silver, copper, iron, crystal, alabaster, and adamant. In fine, Adonai, who has travelled over all this kingdom, calls it the fertilest region of all Italy, which is esteemed the paradise of Europe.

Dost thou not think now, venerable guide of the elect, that the Duke of Guise had reason to prefer the honour of conquering so renowned a kingdom, to the safety of his person ? Or wilt thou not rather conclude, that the reduction of this happy state would be an expedition wor-

thy of the Ottoman arms? It is certain, that the riches and plenty of this region have tempted more nations to invade it, than any other kingdom on earth; it having been the prize, at which no less than five-and-twenty several nations have aimed.

Cardinal Mazarini is much troubled at the Duke of Guise's captivity, and has offered great sums of money for his ransom; but the king of Spain rejects all proposals of that nature; so that it is thought the Cardinal will contrive some way for the duke's escape, either by bribing his keepers, or by some secret stratagem.

I am not much concerned for the infidels; but it would be no small joy to hear, that some care were taken for the redemption of Mahomet Celebe, who, thou knowest, has not deserved ill of the Sublime Porte. Adieu, holy Patriarch, and forget not Mahmut in thy addresses to Heaven.

Paris, 27th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1648.

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XIII.—*To ABDEL MELEC MULI OMAR, Superintendent of the College of Sciences at Fez.*

THOU to whom the issues of Paradise are revealed, and the road of the angels when they come down and go up through the seven heavens! Thou that canst marshal the host of the stars, and understandest the discipline of the armies living and strong, the orders of the potentates encamped in the fields of light, the domestic guards of the throne blessed for ever; tell me the age of the world, and declare the beginning of time: Resolve me, whether this mighty fabric be but of yesterday, that is, of five or six thousand years standing, as the Jews and Christians say, or whether the years of its duration be not past a calcule.

The visions of thy progenitor, the lieutenant to the sent of God, are extant in the Arabic tongue. In them it is written, " My soul on a sudden became as though it had wings ; a spirit entered me, and a subtle wind lifted me up to the top of Mount Uriel, where I beheld marvellous things. I looked behind me, and saw the ages that were past ; and lo, they were without number, or beginning. I beheld the four seasons of the year ever returning at their accustomed time, and the sun forsook not his course for a thousand thousand generations ; I counted a million of ages, and yet there appeared not an hour wherein darkness had possessed the abyss of matter, or wherein the endless firmament was not illuminated by the moon and stars. Whilst I considered these things, a liquor was given me to drink by an unknown hand ; it was of the colour of amber : when I had tasted it, I felt a marvellous force in my body, and my eyes were more piercing than an eagle's. Another wind, more powerful than the former, blew out of a cloud, and carried me up to an exceeding high place, far above the tallest mountains ; there I trod in the soft air, as on a pavement of marble. I was ravished at these things, and the exaltation of my state made me forget my mortality. I beheld the earth at a vast distance under my feet, as one that did not belong to it ; it looked like a shining globe, not much unlike the moon, but far bigger. All the living generations which had successively inhabited the earth from its nativity, passed by me, and they appeared in various forms ; first came a race of centaurs, then of satyrs, next of angels, and last of men. While I marvelled at these things, a voice reached my ears, as from behind me, saying, ' These are the four ages of the world, and the four species of beings, to whom I gave the possession

of the earth ; but for the impiety of the three former, I have exterminated them ; and when men shall have completed the measure of their sins, I will cause the trumpet to sound, and all things shall retire into the cave of silence and darknefs. Having heard this, I found myself in a moment on the earth, which I had before seen afar off ; then I knew that I had been in a trance," &c.

I do not rehearse this vision to teach thee any new thing, venerable president of the southern sages (for I know the archives of thy college are replenished with all manner of excellent treatises, and that thou art no stranger to the writings of the prophets), but to crave thy interpretation of so great a mystery, and to reason with thee about the world's duration. My satisfaction would be small, in contemplating the various beauties of the universe, the qualities of the elements, the natures of living things, the virtues of plants and minerals, with the force of the heavenly bodies, were I assured that these things were not always so. That thought would damp my greatest enjoyments, if I were convinced, that so many splendours, riches, and pleasures, as this visible frame affords, were not disclosed for millions of ages, but lay hid in the bosom of eternity. Methinks, it is too low an opinion of the omnipotent goodness, and looks as if the authors of it suspected God of envy ; who, when he might have made infinite myriads of creatures happy, in these visible emanations of his divinity, without either beginning or ending of time, yet, according to their doctrine, contented himself to let only a determinate number taste of his munificence for a few centuries of years. This is not suitable to the character of that infinite Being, the eternal source of all perfections.



What then is meant by those four ages, and the four species of beings, which were showed to the exalted of God in that holy vision? Tell me, great light of Africk, is it repugnant to reason or faith, to believe, that the earth has been inhabited from eternity, since our holy doctors teach us, that it was peopled long before the creation of Adam? No mussulman, that has ever gone the sacred pilgrimage, but has visited Mount Araffa, where Adam first saw Eve his wife; where he has been instructed in the history of that first father of mankind; and how, that before his time, the earth was inhabited by angels, who being commanded to adore Adam, refused it, and were turned to devils, being expelled from the earth. Thou knowest, moreover, that it is in the sacred traditions, that God gave to Adam a wife, whose name was Aileth, but that she being of the race of those devils, refused to obey Adam; whence it came to pass, that they lived in continual quarrels and enmity for the space of five hundred years, till at length Aileth flew up into the air, and abandoned her husband; of which, when Adam complained to God, he sent three mighty angels in pursuit of her, commanding them to tell her, that if she would return to her husband, it should go well with her, but if she would not, an hundred of her children should die every day. The angels followed her, and overtook her on the Red-sea, where they threatened to drown her, unless she would return to her husband; but she made excuses, and told them, she was created to destroy young children. Then the angels laid hands on her, when she, to pacify them, swore by the bottom of hell, that whensoever the names of them three should be written on any schedule, that she should have no power to hurt the infants, they dismissed her. After this, God compassionating Adam's solitude, gave him another wife, called Eve.

This tradition confirms the vision of the prophet ; and we need not doubt, that the earth was inhabited before Adam's time ; and if that be granted, why might it not be peopled for millions of ages, as well as for the smallest term that ignorance or error may assign to its duration ?

I have discoursed with several of the Jewish rabbis and Christian doctors on this subject, men of abstruse learning and sublime thoughts, yet I can find but a few who are emancipated from the prejudices of a superstitious education : They have been, from their infancy, prepossessed with a false notion of the works of God, believing them to be finite, both in extent of space and time ; they circumscribe this visible world within I know not what flaming circle, and believe the first matter itself to be but five days older than Adam, taking each of those days for the space of four-and-twenty hours, wherein the sun finishes his diurnal circuit through the heavens. They consider not, that, according to their own Bible, there was light and darkness, and consequently day and night, before the sun was created ; but how long those days and nights were, is not determined by Moses ; yet in another part of their Bible, it is said, that a day with God is a thousand years, and a thousand years is a day ; so that, according to this interpretation, Adam was not created till above five thousand years after the beginning of the world. Yet when I bring this positive place of their own scripture against the Nazarene sages, they shuffle it off with empty evasions, and rather than believe the indefinite antiquity of the world, they contradict their own sense and reason, invalidate the testimony of a prophet, deny their faith, and appear unmasked infidels.

Both they and the Jews have corrupted the truth with many errors, and we must seek farther, for the original science of nature. The illuminated of God have always

taught, that the earth was inhabited long before the appearance of Adam; and all the Eastern sages believe a series of generations to have dwelt on this globe for indeterminate ages.

I have a brother lately come from the Indies : He relates strange things of certain books, which are only in the hands of the Bramins. They are written in a language which none understand but these priests, yet a language as copious as any other, and taught in their colleges by rule. These books contain a history of the world, which, they say, is above thirty millions of years old. They divide the term of its duration into four ages; three of which, they say, are already past, and a good part of the fourth. Now I would fain know, who wrote these books, and at what time, and where this language was spoken. They call it the holy language, saying, that it was the first spoken on earth. It is strange, that no history should mention so divine a speech. We have the chronology of the Latin and Greek, and can give an account when and where they were spoken, though they are now grown obsolete, and no otherwise to be learned but in the schools and academies. This argues the antiquity of the Bramins language and books, in regard they fall not within any other record, save their own, which says, they are as old as the world : For if this assertion were false, the imposture would have been discovered as soon as broached, and the learned sages of the East would quickly have disproved so manifest a lie. There seems to me something extraordinary in this pretension of these Indian philosophers, and I would gladly be convinced of the truth. Methinks it is an illustrious idea of the divine perfections, when one conceives all this vast and endless concatenation of beings to flow from the eternal nature, as rays from the sun; and that they can

no more be separated from it, than those beams can from that visible fountain of light. It will not be difficult then to interpret the history of Moses by this register of the Bramins, and reconcile the six days of the one with the four ages of the other, since a day, in the divine sense, may amount to millions of years, as well as to a thousand. And it will be more congruous and agreeable to believe, that after the birth of the first matter, there elapsed many ages, before it was wrought into such an infinite variety of appearances as we now behold; and that the five days which Moses computes before the production of Adam, might be some millions of years, in which time the divine Architect gradually drew from the abyss of matter, the sun, moon, stars, plants, and animals; which may serve also to illustrate the vision of the holy ancestor, with which I began this discourse.

Adieu, sublime intelligence of the torrid zone, and favour Mahmut with a transcript of thy thoughts concerning these things. But if thy silence shall condemn my presumptions and importunity, I will wait for thy answer till the Platonic year, when, according to the doctrine of that philosopher, we shall all be alive again.

Paris, 19th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1648.

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#### XIV.—*To the MUFTI.*

**I**N a former dispatch to thy sanctity, I have acquainted thee with the insurrections in Palermo, mentioning the fear of the viceroy, lest the French in that island should then take their opportunity to revenge the proverbial cruelty of the Sicilian Vespers. If thou art unacquainted with that tragedy, I will inform thee in brief.

About three hundred and threescore years ago, there reigned in Sicily one of the royal blood of France, they call him Charles of Anjou. He had French garrisons in all the cities of that kingdom; but these soldiers committed so many insolencies as rendered them odious and insupportable to the natives, who therefore resolved to exterminate them.

The French are very licentious in their conquests, neither sparing men in their anger, nor women in their lust; they make no difference between the noble and the vulgar, but sacrifice all the regards of honour and civility to their impetuous appetites.

They were guilty of innumerable rapes and violences in Sicily, among the meaner people, and sometimes extended their rudeness to persons of the best quality. It was common for them to affront both virgins and matrons as they went along the streets, by thrusting their hands under their garments, under pretence of searching for hidden arms. Among the rest, the wife of a certain lord in Palermo, going to pay her devotions at the temple, was seized by the command of the captain of the guards, and stripped naked before all the soldiers, in order to discover certain treasonable papers, which they suspected she carried about her; but finding none, she upbraided the captain with inhumanity in offering so gross an affront to a lady of her rank: He, seeming to be sorry for the indignity she had received, begged her pardon, and retiring with his soldiers out of the room where she was, left her to put on her apparel. In the mean while, he was enflamed with a furious passion for this lady (she being very beautiful), and having sent the soldiers away, he returned to the room where she was: He addressed her with much courtship, but finding that ineffectual, he forced her:



. When this was made known to her husband, he burned with desire of revenge ; and, stirring up all the Sicilian nobles and people, it was privately agreed between them, that on a certain festival, when the bells should toll to even-song, all the Sicilians should take arms, and massacre the French throughout the island. This plot was carried so secretly, that before the French could get the least intimation of it, they were all murdered on the day appointed.

I forgot to acquaint thee in my last, with a villany which was discovered in the late tumults of Naples. As they were marching up and down the streets, burning the custom-houses, and the habitations of those who had been concerned in gathering the taxes, they entered the house of a certain notary, or public scribe of that city, who had been represented to them as a promoter of those unreasonable impositions : They seized on the man, and began to carry his goods out into the street, in order to be burnt ; but as they were rummaging in an apartment which was toward the gardens, they heard a great shrieking, as of women affrighted ; and perceiving the voice to proceed from within a wall in the room where they were, they searched about for a door to enter into that place, but finding none, they broke through the wall ; where they found two women with their hair hanging down to their ancles, and their nails grown like the talons of an eagle. Inquiring of them how long they had been there, and on what occasion, the eldest of the women made this answer : “ The master of this house is my own brother, who, when my father died, was entrusted by him to pay me six hundred ducats, which he bequeathed me as a legacy for my maintenance, my husband being dead ; but my brother, instead of doing me this justice, immured both me and my daughter, whom you see here, between

these walls, where we have lived these seventeen years, being allowed by this cruel man no other food but bread and water.”

The people, incensed above measure at so barbarous a cruelty, hanged up the notary, and gave all his estate to this widow and her daughter; an exemplary piece of justice, performed by mutineers, which could not have been done by the law, the crime not reaching his life, though, in the sense of all men, he merited death. This is another argument, that destiny had a hand in this insurrection, and that Massaniello the fisherman was the executioner of God.

I obey thee, sovereign prelate, with an unconditional devotion, and revere the idea of thy sanctity: Vouchsafe to pray for Mahmut, that whilst he condemns the barbarous cruelties of the Nazarenes, he may not render himself inexcusable, by doing any injustice himself.

Paris, 22d of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1648.

#### XV.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

THE Arabian proverb says, “There is more danger to be feared from one of the Corcis, than from a thousand Bo-becks.” Thou knowest, both these were noble families in Mecca, and sworn enemies of the messenger of God; but the latter, as their name imports, were too open in their councils to do any considerable execution against the holy one; whereas the former were always reserved, and laying of secret trains.

Such is Cardinal Mazarini, the hidden enemy of the Ottoman empire. There seems to be an ambition in this great genius, equal to that of his predecessor Richlieu, who would be esteemed the most eminent among men.

Nothing will satisfy this minister less than a subversion of all the monarchies on earth, which appear obstacles of that grandeur to which he designs to raise his master. Yet he attempts not this by open force, knowing that it is impracticable, but acts in the dark, striving to undermine those states by intrigue, which he cannot subdue by arms. He has his agents in all the courts of Christendom ; and thou needest not startle if I tell thee, there is ground to suspect he is not without his creatures at the Sublime Porte. All Europe is sensible, that the late revolutions in Portugal and Catalonia, the insurrections in Sicily and Naples, and the rebellion of the English, Scots, and Irish, are in part owing to the policies of this minister ; and I can tell thee more on that subject than is known to every one.

Osmin the dwarf, who still retains his good inclinations to the Sublime Porte, finds an unsuspected access to all the grandees, to whom the smallness of his bulk and stature affords no small divertisement. Besides, they delight to pose him with problems, in regard there is always something so lucky, besides the wit, in his answers, as either creates admiration or laughter. But their mirth would quickly be changed into other passions, were they sensible that their little buffoon is no other than a spy upon them : For Osmin, having so many opportunities, lurks in corners, like a spider, undiscovered, and unthought of ; he creeps into their bed-chambers and cabinets, where he becomes privy to their greatest secrets : If they should catch him in any of his concealments, behind the hangings, or under a bed, it would only pass for a frolic to give them diversion ; and he never wants for a repartee, or a jest, to bring himself off.

I have taught him a cypher, which he makes use of to transcribe any letters, or other papers of moment, with

characters for speedy writing, which comprehend whole sentences in a dash or two of the pen.

It is but lately we have pitched on this method, and the first attempt Osmin made, was in Cardinal Mazarini's closet, into which he slipped, under the skirt of a nobleman's cloak, who just then went in to speak with the cardinal. This active dwarf, taking advantage of the nobleman's approach to the table, dexterously crept under the carpet which covered it, reaching down to the floor, where he lay unseen till the cardinal was gone, and the closet locked up.

During the time of their conference, which was not very long, Osmin heard the cardinal speak these words to the lord : " One of the slaves of that bassa (says he) is an Italian, whom I formerly entertained in my service, and one in whom I confide ; he was taken by the Turks at sea, and as soon as he was sold to this grandee, he acquainted me, in a letter, with his condition, imploring my assistance towards his ransom. I promised to redeem him, on the conditions I have told you ; and since that, he has not failed to perform them ; his master having accepted the pistols, and entered into the association ; so that I hope in a little time to see that proud tyrannical race exterminated, the Tartars excluded from succession, and the empire divided by the sword of strangers. Ragotski is the only obstacle ; that prince is wavering, and we cannot trust him. The bassa of Aleppo, with those of Sidon, Damascus, and Babylon, are ready to cover the fields of Asia with their armies. If things were as secure on the side of Europe, the blow should soon be given."

There passed some other discourse between them, which Osmin could not distinguish, in regard they removed to

the window, and spoke low ; but this was enough to rouse his curiosity, and put him on a farther inquiry.

As soon as the room was void by their absence, he came forth from his retirement, and fell to examining the papers which lay on the table, hoping to discover more of this plot ; but he was disappointed, and only met with a few letters from his agents in England ; wherein, among other matters, they gave the cardinal an account that they had hunted the lion into the toils, past all hopes of an escape ; by which, I suppose, they meant the English king, whom the rebels have confined to a certain castle in their possession. Osmin transcribed some of these letters, and brought them to me. A copy of one of them I here send thee enclosed ; it was written from the council of the Irish rebels ; by which thou mayest see, what a share the cardinal has in abetting these traitors, else how could they demand of him the performance of the Queen Regent's promise to assist them with money and men ?

There is one also, dated this present year, and subscribed by Monsieur Bellieure, the French ambassador in England ; but Osmin had not time to transcribe that, being prevented by the cardinal's return, which made the dwarf snatch up his tools, and abscond under the table ; yet he remembered some of the contents of that letter, and told them me at his next visit. The ambassador in that letter, informs the cardinal of a certain German prophet, who foretold, " That there should be a great revolution in the government of England, and that one of the mightiest of all the Eastern princes should be deposed this year, and murdered by his subjects." I pray Heaven, avert the omen from the seraglio ! He acquaints this minister also, that he had succeeded in his negotiation with the officers of the rebels army. There were other obscure passages



in the letter, which Ofmin has forgot ; but these are sufficient to demonstrate how busy the cardinal is, and what a hand he has in foreign affairs.

Another opportunity, I hope, will bring to light more of this minister's secrets. Adieu.

Paris, 4th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1648.

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XVI.—*To PESTELI HALI, his Brother.*

THE oftener I peruse the journal of thy travels, the more I am delighted with it ; for it is evident, that the countries through which thou hast passed, have been as so many schools of wisdom to thee, wherein thou hast learned, even from men's vices, the way to perfection ; much more from their virtues. Thou hast found, that though men's natural dispositions differ, as do the climates which afford them breath, yet they all agree in common frailties. There are also vices peculiar to certain countries ; it were to be wished they could be matched with as many national virtues. But human nature is a rank soil, more fertile in weeds than wholesome products ; yet there are gardens, as well as desarts ; and thou hast observed some persons, illustrious for their goodness, and the noble endowments of their minds.

I am extremely pleased with that rare example of generosity which thou relatest of an Indian merchant, who, not content to give alms to all that asked him, or whom he knew to be poor, sought daily occasions to exercise his charity, hunted out the indigent and unfortunate, and wherever he discovered the lineaments of poverty in a man's face, or traced footsteps of it in his behaviour, he could not rest till he had relieved his wants, and made him happy to his very wishes. I tell thee, poverty is a

hell upon earth, and he that has this curse, anticipates the torments of the damned : It eclipses the brightest virtues, and is the very sepulchre of brave designs, depriving a man of the means to accomplish what nature has fitted him for, and stifling the noblest thoughts in their embryo. How many illustrious souls may be said to have been dead among the living, or buried alive in the obscurity of their condition, whose perfections have rendered them the darlings of Providence, and companions of angels ! yet the insuperable penury of all things, has ranked them among the cast-aways of the earth, in the eyes of men. To such as these our divine lawgiver commands us to extend our charity, giving us certain characters and marks, by which we may distinguish them from the crowd of the unfortunate. And I like the Indian's bounty the better, in that he so exactly seems to comply with this precept of the Alcoran, generously preventing the requests of the indigent, and by an excess of benignity, courting them to accept of relief. In this he also verifies the Arabian proverb, which says, " He gives double, who gives unasked."

Thou commendest the industry of the Chinese, the advances they have made in arts and sciences, which, thou concludest, is to be attributed to the force of their laws, which oblige the son to follow his father's trade, throughout all generations. In this I must dissent ; for it seems rather a curb than a spur to ingenuity, to be confined to employments for which a man may have an aversion ; the son not seldom abhorring those things wherein his parents took delight : Or, if not so, yet he may be cast in a finer mould, have a more subtle invention, and consequently be capable of making greater improvements in any trade of his own choice ; since delight sets an edge on the mind, gives vigour to the body, and adds wings to business. Be-

fides, I do not think this to be so much thy own remark, as the insinuation of some of that country, who are the most conceited people in the world; ever extolling their own policy, laws, and government, and imposing them as a pattern to all other nations.

One thing I grant they boast of with a great deal of truth, that is, their antiquity and unmixed race; though, since the conquest the Tartars have made of that country, they are like to undergo the fate of other nations, and corrupt their genealogies with the blood of strangers.

Thou camest away before that conquest was begun, or, perhaps, before it was talked of; and I can give thee but a very imperfect account of it. All the intelligence we have from that kingdom of late, comes in fragments; for the ships which bring this shattered news left China in an uproar and confusion; only they assure us, that the Tartars had passed the celebrated wall which divides them from China; that they entered and subdued the Northern provinces, with an army of six hundred thousand men; that very little resistance was made against them, not even in Pekin itself, the capital seat of the Chinese empire, which the usurper Lycungz had abandoned to the conquerors, carrying away with him all the inestimable treasures of the palace, and, retiring into one of the remote provinces, was never heard of afterwards; whence it was judged, that some of his own party had murdered him, partly for the sake of his prodigious wealth, which they shared among them, and partly to revenge his treason against the emperor, and the innumerable calamities he had brought upon his country.

Before these merchants came away, the Cham of Tartary was proclaimed in Pekin, and crowned Emperor of China. They say, he was not above thirteen years old at that time, which was in the 12th moon of the year

1644; and that having sent for the chief nobility of Tartary to Pequin, he made preparations to pursue his conquests.

This is the best account we yet have of the affairs of that empire; by which thou wilt easily be induced to be of my opinion, that the blood of the Chineses will in time be mixed with that of strangers.

We must not seek for the originals of any people in the country where they dwell. The most renowned kingdoms and empires in the world, had their first foundations laid by vagabonds and fugitives. Thou art not ignorant how vast an extent the ancient Roman empire had through Asia, Africa, and Europe; yet that city, which was called the Mistress of Nations, the Governess of the whole Earth, was first built by a handful of banditti, people who lived by pillage and robbery, the outlaws and scum of Italy, assembled together from divers parts, under the conduct of Romulus and Remus. Neither had that city proved any better than a sepulchre to them and their designs, had they not, by a witty stratagem overreached the Sabine women, and so secured to themselves a posterity, who should not only defend, but enlarge the dominions of their fathers: Yet these people, of so obscure and confused an original, afterwards boasted of the antiquity and noble descent of their families. No name more venerable, in succeeding ages, than that of a Roman.

To look no farther than the great and formidable empire of the Osmons, we shall find it took its first rise from colonies of transplanted Scythians; so that he who would have the genealogy of a Turk, must not look in the registers of Greece, where they now live, but must carry his search beyond the mountain Caucasus, examine the borders of Palus Mæotis, or hunt his pedigree out in Chersonesus. What revolutions have not happened in Asia

and Afric, since the assumption of the messenger of God into paradise? Where shall we now find any remains of the ancient Saracens or Mamelukes? The mighty empire of the Ottomans has swallowed up all. Thus one nation expels another, and there is so general a mixture of foreign blood, made by the conversion of innumerable different nations to the musliman faith, that it is hard to know, whether our ancestors were Scythians or Persians, Jews or Grecians, whether they were of the mountains or the valleys, of the forests or the plains.

In this I will except my countrymen, the Arabians, and those who seem to approach nearest them in manner of life, the Tartars; the one dwelling in tents, the other in waggons; both in a moving posture; both happy in this, that they are not confined to the rigours of a cold winter, nor the scorching heats of the summer, but change their soil and climate as the season of the year varies; thus, ever securing to themselves, in all places, either a blooming flowery spring, or a moderate and fruitful autumn. These were never subdued, nor expelled those regions wherein they take delight, neither would they ever mix with strangers: But the Chinese would excel all the world, in the purity of their unmixed blood, were it not for the incursions of their potent and victorious neighbours.

The French say, that these people had the use of guns and printing many hundreds of years before they were found out in Europe; but the Germans claim the honour of these inventions to themselves.

Thou confirmest the opinion of the former, in telling me, thou hast seen some of the cannon belonging to the city of Pequin, on which was engraven, in Chinese characters, a register of their age, which was above two thousand years.



I had a great deal more to say, dear Pesteli, but the post calls on me to hasten; besides an extreme dulness and languishing of my spirits, with which I have been persecuted ever since this moon first showed her crescent; now she is in the wane, and so I hope is my malady. The influence this planet seems to have on me, may make thee conclude me a lunatic: We are all so in one degree or other. There are not more apparent symptoms, that the flux and reflux of the sea owes its original to the neighbourhood and motion of that planet, than that our constitutions vary according to its monthly appearances.

He that created the moon, and the constellations, not without respect to mankind, give us wisdom which shall entitle us to a dominion over the stars.

Paris, 14th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1648.

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XVII.—*To the AGA of the Janizaries.*

THE Duke of Chastillon arrived here six days ago from the army in Flanders, bringing news of a signal victory obtained by the young Prince of Conde, on the plains of Lens. This battle was fought on the 20th of the last moon, the French having entirely routed the Spaniards, killed three thousand of them on the spot, taken six thousand prisoners, with all their artillery and baggage; and, to crown the day, they have taken Lens also.

But though fortune thus favours their arms abroad, she has mixed poison with their councils at home. All things here seem to portend a civil war; the parliament thwart the proceedings of the court, taking on them the power of the ancient Spartan Ephori; they will be controulers of the regal authority, suppressing the king's

edicts, calling his expences to account ; and, pretending to reform the court, they play the pedagogues with their sovereign. On the other side, Cardinal Mazarini, the Duke of Orleans, and other grandees, do their utmost endeavours to dissolve the meetings of this senate : They persuade the young king, that it is but a precarious reign, where the sovereign must be curbed by his subjects : Thus they instil into his tender years, those maxims by which they would have him rule when he comes of age.

There is a man in the parliament whom they call Monsieur Bruffels, one of their great counsellors, a bitter enemy of Cardinal Mazarini, and therefore cried up by the people for a patriot : He is of a furious temper, and mean abilities ; yet his noisy zeal for the public liberty has fastened to him the vulgar ; he is become the ring-leader of the seditious.

This man was seized as he returned from the chief temple, where *Te Deum* was sung yesterday, for the late victory in Flanders ; and some are of opinion, that it was this happy news which emboldened the court to snatch from the people their darling, their idol, the man from whose courage they expect a redress of all their grievances. Indeed, one may say, it would seem safer for a traveller in the deserts of Arabia, to tear from a lioness her young one ; for the heads of the faction waited but for such an opportunity to set all in a flame : And the ill success of the court in this action, shows that it is dangerous to provoke the multitude ; for presently we were all in confusion, the burgeses in arms, the shops shut up, the streets chained, and all the avenues of the palace barricadoed ; the rabble marched up and down the streets, threatening destruction to Cardinal Mazarini, and all his party ; the parliament were forced to become

the messengers of the people, to carry their petitions, or rather their commands, to the court, being threatened also, if they failed of success; for they protested unanimously, that they would not lay down their arms, until the imprisoned counsellor was released.

The queen appeared at first inexorable, and sent these senators away with denial and scoffs, wishing them joy of their new honour, in being made the porters of the rabble; and the young monarch, incensed to see his native royalty thus profaned by his subjects, bent his brows, and casting a look, divided betwixt majesty and disdain, on the senators, uttered these words: "Sirs! Shall it always be a custom thus to molest the minority of your kings? Or, do you think our tender years incapable of the common sense of other mortals, that you presume thus insolently to invade our right? Accuse not the multitude, nor make them an umbrage to your sedition: I know the authors of these tumults, and shall find a time to make them feel the weight of my displeasure. Think not that I wear this sword only for ornament, (laying his hand fiercely on the hilt) or that the blood of my renowned ancestors is grown degenerate, or turned to lees within my veins. Go, tell your factious comrades, there sits this day upon the throne of France, a king, who, though he is young, yet has a spirit and memory which will outlast his pupilage." With that he commanded them out of his sight.

Yet, notwithstanding this, the people threatened to bring their darling away by force, if he were not released in two hours.

There were above an hundred thousand of them in arms, and it might have proved a dangerous insurrection; but the queen, at the second return of the senators, hearkening to the advice of Mazarini, and the Duke of Orleans,

and remembering the late dreadful effects of Massaniello's tumult in Naples, released the prisoner, who was conducted home last night in triumph, by an infinite crowd of people, who filled the air with shouts and acclamations.

It is discoursed here, that the Prince of Conde will speedily return to Paris, from whom both the court and the faction promise themselves new grounds of triumph.

During these commotions, Mahmut fails not to act his part, being at no small expence to maintain a certain number of strangers, whose whole dependence is on me : These I instruct to mix themselves with the rabble, to insinuate into them hateful notions of Cardinal Mazarini and the court : They buzz up and down the city like flies in this hot season, and sting the multitude to fury with their stories. I spare no cost to procure the cardinal's ruin : That pernicious wit comes not short of his predecessor Richlieu, being as active in embroiling foreign states ; witness the revolutions of Portugal, Catalonia, England, and Naples, (in all which he had a principal hand) and is ever projecting how to aggrandize his master. And the universal success of the French arms in Germany, Flanders, Italy, and Spain, has left him nothing worth a thought, but the destruction of the Osman empire.

Eliachim brings me news every hour how my myrmidons succeed ; for he acts abroad in the streets, while I keep my chamber, during the tumults, being of Demosthenes's mind, who, when the Athenians were in an uproar, took sanctuary in the temple of Pallas, and prostrating himself before the altar of the goddess, uttered these words : " O Pallas, I fly to thee for protection ; defend me from ignorance, envy, and inconstancy ; for

I love not the society of the owl, the dragon, and the people."

Yet, whether in my chamber or abroad, be assured, illustrious prefect of the imperial city, that Mahmut divides his time between the vows he makes, and the services he does for the Grand Signior.

Paris, 3d of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1648.

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### XVIII.—To ACHMET BEIG.

**T**HIS court is now in mourning for the death of Uladislau, late king of Poland ; whilst the politicians are canvassing the next election. Those who side with the House of Austria favour the succession of Prince Charles ; but the French are for Casimir, their former prisoner.

The Duke of Bavaria is also dead. They say he died of grief to see his country exposed to the insults of a victorious enemy ; for all his forces were entirely defeated.

The Prince of Conde has taken Ippe in Flanders ; and the Archduke of Austria has rendered himself master of Courtray, without drawing a sword, or firing a gun : The Marechal de Rantzau has made an unhappy attempt to surprise Ostend, a sea-town in Flanders ; for, carrying his forces by water, as soon as he had landed his men, a tempest arose, and drove all his ships out to sea ; so that, being encompassed by a numerous army of his enemies, and having no way to escape, he and all his troops were made prisoners.

From the sea we have advice that there has been a combat between the Duke of Richlieu, commander of the naval forces sent to assist the Neapolitan revolvers, and Don John of Austria, admiral of the Spanish fleet on that coast ; but the issue of the battle is not yet known,



though most people guess the victory to be on the French side, in regard Cardinal Mazarini had, by the advice of an Indian ship-wright, caused all the French ships to be plastered over with alum, so that no fire-ships can hurt them. The Spaniards make great use of these fire-ships in all their sea-fights, having learned to their cost, from the English, what damage these vessels do, when they formerly lost their whole Armada, which they before termed Invincible, and with which they failed to conquer that island.

From Catalonia the posts bring news which pleases the wives and friends of the soldiers in those parts; for the Mareschal de Schomberg has cut in pièces the Spanish army, taken Tortosa by assault, where the soldiers found a booty of above fifteen hundred thousand livres.

A courier is come from Swedeland, who brings an account of a late formidable conspiracy in Russia against the life of the Czar. The greatest part of the Muscovite grandees were concerned in this plot, designing to change the form of government, and divide that mighty empire into several principalities, whereof every one of the conspirators should have a share; and that they should be all subject to one chief, who should be elected by the rest, after the manner of Germany. To this purpose they had made a private treaty with the Tartars. Morosoph, the prime minister of state, and the Chancellor Nazari, were of the conspiracy. Perhaps thou wilt lament the fate of the latter, having received extraordinary civilities from him when thou wert at that court.

Banaanoph, son of the patriarch of Mosco, revealed the plot, with the names of the conspirators, to the Grand Duke, who sent for them next day to his palace, under divers pretences, where he commanded them all to

be killed, and their bodies to be thrown to the dogs in the streets of that city.

The French report strange things of Sultan Ibrahim : I wish all go well at the sublime Porte. If thou hast the same desires, reveal them to none but thy friend ; for at some times a man's best thoughts will be interpreted for treason. Adieu.

Paris, 15th of the 10th-Moon, of the year 1648.

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XIX.—*To the MUFTI.*

THY venerable letters are come safe to my hands, bringing light and consolation to the faithful exile. With profoundest reverence I kissed and unfolded the papers which contain the sacred instructions of the vicar of God : I blessed myself when I read the charge of royal enormities, the exorbitant passions of a mussulman emperor, and the profanation of the throne founded on justice. Thou hast prevented the qualms of a too scrupulous loyalty, by assuring me, that it is a fundamental maxim of our law, “ That all men in the world, without respect of birth or quality, are obliged to appear before the justice of God ; and that he who obeys not the law is no mussulman ; and if the emperor himself be in this number, he ought to be deposed forthwith.”

This has abundantly satisfied my conscience, coming from the hands of him from whose sentence there can be no appeal on earth. I shall therefore readily obey thy orders, and, without demur, put in execution what thou hast commanded me.

Who can blame the just indignation of Sultan Morat's widow, who, in defence of her chastity, threatened to

sheath her poniard in the breast of her sovereign? But, incomparably more eminent was thy daughter's virtue, who, not being able to resist the force of the mighty ravisher, after she was polluted, would, like another Lucretia, have stabbed herself, had she not been prevented by the sultan. How has he sullied the glory of the Osman race by these effeminate vices? What an indignity has he committed against our holy law? against the principal patriarch of the elect? Much more noble was the continence of the African Scipio, who, when at the conquest of New Carthage, a virgin of admirable beauty was chosen from among the captives, and presented to him, would by no means defile her, but restored her again without blemish to her parents, saying withal to those that stood near him, "Were I a private man I would gratify my passion by the enjoyment of this lovely maid; but it becomes not the leader of an army to give so bad an example, nor a conqueror to yield his heart to the charms of his captive."

But it seems that Sultan Ibrahim was rather ambitious of the character of Augustus the Roman emperor, of whom it is said, that he never spared any woman in his lust; but if he cast his eye on a beautiful lady, though her husband were of the first quality in the empire, he would immediately send his officers to bring her to him, by fair means or by force.

The philosopher Athenodorus, who was very intimate with this monarch, took a pretty method to reform this vice in his master; for when the emperor one day had sent a close sedan or chair for a certain noble woman of the house of the Camilli, the philosopher, fearing some disaster might ensue, (for that family was very popular and highly respected in Rome), he goes before to the lady's palace, and acquainting her with it, she complain-

ed to her husband of the indignity that was offered her. He, boiling with anger, threatened to stab the messengers of the emperor when they came ; but the prudent philosopher appeased them both, and only desired a suit of the lady's apparel, which was granted him : He soon put it on, and, hiding his sword under his robes, entered the sedan, personating the lady. The messengers, who knew no other, carried him away to the emperor : He, heightened with desire, made haste to open the sedan himself, when Athenodorus, suddenly drawing his sword, leaped forth upon him, saying, " Thus mightest thou have been murdered : Wilt thou never quit the vice which is attended with so much danger ? Jealousy and revenge might have substituted an assassin thus disguised in my room ; but I took care of thy life ; henceforth take warning." The emperor, pleased with the philosopher's stratagem, gave him ten talents of gold, thanking him for this seasonable correction ; and from that time began to restrain unlawful pleasures, applying himself to a virtuous life.

Thou seest, holy prelate, that by perusing the histories of the ancients, a man may furnish himself with useful examples, and proper observations. I always keep by me Plutarch's Works, and those of Livy, a Roman historian ; as also Tacitus, who has left the annals of that formidable empire to posterity. It were a desirable thing, that the mussulman scribes were employed in translating such records as these into the Arabic or Turkish languages ; that so the true faithful, who are destined by God to conquer the world, may not be ignorant of the memorable transactions of former ages. Some of our sultans have been curious to have Plutarch's writings rendered in the familiar speech of the Ottomans : There are other memoirs not less worth the labour. If it shall enter into thy heart to encourage so profitable a work, the

whole empire of the resigned to God will be indebted to thee. But who am I that presume to direct the great father of the faithful? Thou art enlightened with all knowledge and wisdom. Peradventure thou hast reasons to divert thee from such an enterprize, which I cannot comprehend. Therefore I cover my mouth with dust, and acquiesce.

As to the late revolution, I am not to dispute the will of my superiors. However, I receive the news of that tragedy with less discontent, in regard thou thyself, who art the oracle of the mussulmans, hast thought fit to depose Sultan Ibrahim, using herein the advice and consent of his own mother, and of Mahmut Bassa, with that of the Janizar Aga, who, next to thyself, are two the most knowing sages in the empire.

What remains, but that I shall pray for the long life of Sultan Mahomet? desiring also, that Heaven may so direct his councils, that he may never do any thing to merit the fate of his unhappy father.

Paris, 13th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1648.

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XX.—*To CHIURGI MUHAMMEL, Bassa.*

At length the deputies of the Nazarene princes at Munster have concluded a peace: They have been these six years debating about trifles and punctilios, as is the manner of the Christians even in the most important affairs. This treaty was signed the 24th of the last moon, when all farther hostilities ceased on all sides, except on the parts of France and Spain, whose quarrel could by no means be adjusted in this general agreement of Christendom.



Thou hast by this time heard of the late tumults and emotions in this city, the disaffection between the Court and Parliament, with the short siege of Paris. Now things seem to be composed, and in a calm; but it may only prove a truce, while both parties take breath, to rush upon each other with the greater violence. The city is unmeasurably rich and populous, and can arm an hundred thousand men at an hour's warning; the parliament abets their quarrel: This encourages them to vie with the court: The merchants live like petty kings; abundance of gold fills them with pride and ambition: Whilst the court in the mean time are close and reserved, projecting how to destroy the faction, and assert the regal authority. The queen-regent is resolute and severe, yet suffers herself to be mollified with the milder counsels of Cardinal Mazarini and the Duke of Orleans.

In the beginning of this reign, I gave an account to the ministers of the Porte, of the Duke of Beaufort's imprisonment in the Castle of the Wood of Vincennes, which is one of the king's palaces: This prince is now escaped from his confinement, and come into the city. The factious cry him up for a patriot, and are resolved to protect him with their lives and fortunes.

If thou yet retainest thy health and vigour, thou art happy: As for me, I feel continual decays; yet am not troubled, perceiving, at the same time, that I approach nearer to immortality; wherefore I neither seek restoratives, nor consult physicians, but, suffering myself to dissolve gradually, I die with pleasure, pluming and preparing myself daily, as one ready to take wing for a more happy region.

Paris, 24th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1648.

XXI.—*To Dgnet Ogloou.*

I AM not surpris'd at the news of Sultan Ibrahim's being deposed and strangled : It is but what I have for a long time feared : These restless janizaries will ruin the Ottoman empire. Neither am I startled to hear that his mother was accessary to his fall, having a double motive, ambition and revenge, to induce her consent. She always affected to rule, and therefore could not brook the sultan's resolute management of affairs, without following her advice. Besides, she could not easily forget her disgrace and confinement on the account of the Armenian lady's death.

But I am astonished and vexed to hear, that the musti should be concerned in so black a tragedy. How shall we have the confidence hereafter to reproach the Christians with their frequent treasons and murdering of their kings, since it will be easy for them to retort, that the supreme patriarch of our law has entered into the secret of rebels, conspired the death of his sovereign, and caused him to be deposed and strangled ?

As for the aga of the janizaries, I suppose him rather overawed into the conspiracy, by the forcible reasons and elegant parole of the musti, than any ways voluntarily engaging himself in crimes, to which he seems to have no inclination. Besides, he could not refuse to make one in the party, after it had once been proposed to him, unless he were resolved to be the first victim of their jealousy, and be murdered himself, to prevent the discovery of the rest. Yet his duty and honour ought to have superseded all other considerations ; and he should have chosen to die in his allegiance, rather than to live stained with so foul a crime.

However it be, I cannot approve their treason ; for, whatever the vices of the sultan were, they had no right to punish him : He was accountable to none but God ; and they invaded the prerogative of Heaven, in dethroning him, whom the divine providence had invested with the imperial diadem.

Much less can I approve their impiety, in defaming him now he is dead : Neither can I in conscience comply with the injunctions of the mufti, who has commanded me, in a letter, to spread an ill character of Sultan Ibrahim among the Christians, that so his own proceedings may appear just. It is true, I owe much to the authority of this sovereign guide of true believers ; yet I must not, to pay this debt, turn bankrupt of my reason : I owe something to myself, and to the distinguishing character of a man. I promised him, indeed, to obey his commands in this point ; but he that has given me a dispensation for all the lies and perjuries I shall be guilty of in Paris, will, I hope, pardon me, if I turn my own confessor, and absolve myself for not performing my word to him in this point.

I am not often guilty of aspersing the living, but I abhor to injure the dead, lest I should incur the fate of him, who, being at enmity with a famous wrestler, pursued him with malice and revenge, even in his grave ; for, envying the honour that was due to this wrestler's memory, in that his statue was set up in a public place, he went privately one night, with design to throw the statue down ; but after he had spitefully disfigured it in several parts with a hammer, and was busy in working its overthrow, the image on a sudden fell on him, and crushed him to death ; as if the spirit of him whom it represented had given it this fall, to revenge the malice of his adversary.

Certainly the ancients were not ignorant what they said, when, among other sage counsels, they advised mortals, “Not to speak ill of the dead, but to esteem them sacred, who are gone into the immortal state.” And Plato’s ring had this motto on it, “It is easier to provoke the dead, than to pacify them when once provoked;” intimating thereby, that the souls of the departed are sensible of the injuries that are done them by the living.

Therefore I will shun detraction, especially of the dead; and, if I cannot say much in praise of Sultan Ibrahim’s virtues, let his vices be buried with him in eternal oblivion.

I run no hazards in writing thus frankly to thee, being assured of thy fidelity. Besides, death (which is the worst punishment can be inflicted on me for what I have said, should it be known), would not be bitter, when given by a friend. Dear Dgnet, adieu.

Paris, 20th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1649.

XXII.—*To DANECMAR KESROU, Kadilesquer of Romania.*

WHEN I informed thee how the Scots had sold their king to the English rebels, it was easy to presage the consequence without a revelation. When sovereign monarchs become the merchandise of factions, they commonly pay the price with their own blood; and there are few examples of princes that have been imprisoned by their subjects, and yet have escaped a violent death; for those who have once advanced so far in their treason, as to seize the person of their sovereign, can never retire

with safety to themselves, or at least their own guilt makes them think so. The consciousness of what they have already done prompts them to proceed in their wickedness; and their despair of saving their own lives makes them conclude it necessary to take away his, whose violated majesty, they fear, will never pardon so impudent an essay of treason.

But the method which the English have taken to murder their king has not a precedent in history: These infidels have outstripped all former traitors, in the contrivance and execution of their regicide; they have even surpassed themselves, and their own first designs.

It has been usual for traitors to take away the life of a deposed monarch privately, by poison or assassin, either in respect to his royal blood, or to avoid the possibility of a rescue from any of his loyal friends and subjects; but these barbarians were resolved publicly to insult on majesty, to brave the whole world in the execution of their villany, and make a pompous conclusion of their treasons; for they erected a new divan, or court of judicature, composed of the most infamous traitors; there they formally tried their sovereign by a law of their own making, condemned him as a tyrant and a traitor, and, finally, caused his head to be chopped off with an axe, by an executioner, before the gates of his own palace, in the sight of thousands of his subjects, that so they might appear, not so much to kill their king, as to destroy the monarchy itself, and triumph in its ruin.

Hast thou, O venerable judge of the faithful! ever read or heard of such a daring treason? All Europe startles at the monstrous fact; and Cardinal Mazarini himself, who carried on that private web of factious design in England, whose first threads his predecessor Richieu had spun, yet expressed an horror at the news of this



tragedy ; and I look not on this to be an artifice of policy in him to blind the world, but a real discovery of his sentiments ; for he is too generous to approve so barbarous a proceeding against a sovereign monarch, though his enemy.

The other day he was heard to say, “ That in revenge of the king’s murder, he would embarrass the councils of the English rebels more than he had done those of their sovereign.”

This was not spoken so secretly, but Mahmut had intelligence of it within an hour ; for I have more ears in Paris than those in my head to hearken after the intrigues of this minister, and it will be difficult for him hereafter to speak, write, or act any thing, no, not even in his private closet, which will not be disclosed to me.

Yet, though I thus watch his motions as an enemy, and do my utmost to render his designs against the Ottoman Porte ineffectual, I cannot in my heart condemn this minister, who all the while acts but the part of a faithful servant, and an able statesman, in striving to aggrandise his master.

His supporting also the factions in England, and nourishing the discontents of that giddy-headed people, were but the result of his zeal for his country, and for the church, whereof he is one of the principal pillars ; it being evident from his grief at that king’s murder, that he bore no malice against him, but only sought to humble him into terms of compliance with France.

When I say this, I suppose the cardinal’s sorrow on that account to be free from fiction ; but who knows when the actions of statesmen are undisguised, and when not ? For I am well assured, that whilst his agents were busy in embroiling that nation, he promised the exiled English queen to assist her husband with men and money against

those very rebels with whom he held a private correspondence, and to whom his coffers were really open.

Most of the European statesmen are corrupted with the maxims of a certain famous writer, whom they call Machiavel. This state casuist has taught them to boggle at no crimes which may advance the ends they aim at; every thing, in his opinion, being honest that is successful. Thus, policy among the Nazarenes is degenerated into fardid craft; and that which was once deservedly esteemed a virtue, necessary to the governments of the world, is now turned into a vice, of which the very outlaws, freebooters; and pirates, are ashamed.

God, who suffered the earth to be inhabited by angels, for an infinite number of ages before he created Adam; and then expelling them hence for their wickedness, and turning them to devils, gave this globe for a dwelling-place to men, grant, that the enormous crimes of mortals may not provoke him to exterminate our human race, and restore the devils to their ancient habitations.

Paris, 12th of the 2d Moon, of the year 1649.

END OF VOLUME THIRD.

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